

THE COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF LONDON MERCHANTS TRADING IN THE EAST INDIES; FROM ITS INCEPTION IN 1599 TO THE DEATH OF JAMES I. IN 1625

By

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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PREFACE

This thesis is the result of an environmental interest. From my childhood, I have constatly heard tales of the good old days, when all Sahibs were valiant Shikarees, and the "Jehankompani", ruled the land. I have yet vivid memories of one gray haired veteran of the Sepoy Mutiny. Many are the stories he has told me of the great Nicholson, the fearless and tireless Hodson, and other lesser names.

Living as I did within the shadow of the Residency, and the Muchi Bowhan, I could not but feel the spell of a commercial company that conquered and ruled an empire. This early interest has been fostered by several courses under the direction of Professor Larson. The wonderful career of Lord Clive, the conquests of Napier, and Marquis Wellesley, have been all too frequently stressed. The humble beginnings of the commercial enterprise that laid the foundations for future greatness, have been allowed to pass scarcely unnoticed. In a search for the factors that rendered this feat possible, I have chosen to study the humble beginnings of the company from 1599-1625. In this short period of twenty-six years, I believe one can trace the permanent foundations on which the present Indian Empire has been built.

No better justification for such a study can be found, I believe, than that given by Robertson, in his History of India,

p. 59. "In the History of the past times the exploits of conquerors who have desolated the earth and the freaks of tyrants who have rendered nations unhappy, are recorded with minute and often disgusting accuracy, while the discovery of useful arts, and the progress of the most beneficial branches of commerce are passed over in silence, and suffered to sink into oblivion."

To Professor M. L. Larson, I owe a debt of gratitude, both for arousing my interest in the subject, as well as for his helpful suggestions and advice. To Professor W. S. Robertson I owe many thanks for his help in determining the values and relations between the Spanish and Portuguese currency, that has proved invaluable.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

John Cabot in 1497, made his first voyage in search of a Northwest passage. Nearly half a century later his son, Sebastian Cabot, investigated some voyages in Wales with Henry VIII. The Virginia Company was formed in 1585. A first voyage to Roanoke by one of the White Sea was undertaken by Chancellor and Willoughby. Chancellor alone reached the harbor, Willoughby and his crew having perished in the cold. Subsequently, Chancellor visited Inuit at Repulse, thus establishing commercial relations with that people.

Trade through the Baltic was begun in 1595, when the Swedish Company received its charter from Parliament.<sup>1</sup> In 1600 the East India Company received its charter from Parliament.<sup>2</sup> In 1601 the Dutch East India Company received its charter from the States-General.

<sup>1</sup> See, *History of England*, vol. 1, Chap. IV, and following from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> See, *History of England*, vol. 1, Chap. IV.



## INTRODUCTION

### ENGLISH OVER-SEAS EXPANSION TO 1599

Unlike Gladstone's characterization of the American Constitution, the founding of the East India Company, was not a spontaneous and undeliberated act. A long series of events lay behind the meeting in Founders Hall, September 22, 1599, that inevitably led up to this culminating fact.

A short review of the most important of these events, will prove most helpful in understanding the motives and aims of the East India Company.

John Cabot in 1497, made his first voyage in search of a Northwest passage. Nearly half a century later his son, Sebastian Cabot, interested some merchants in trade with Muscovy. The Muscovy Company was formed in 1553. A first voyage to Russia by way of the White Sea was undertaken by Chancellor and Willoughby. Chancellor alone reached the Devina, Willoughby and his crew having perished in the cold. Undaunted, Chancellor visited Ivan IV at Moscow,<sup>1</sup> thus establishing commercial relations with that sovereign.

Trade through the Baltic was begun in 1562, when the Eastland Company received its charter from Parliament.<sup>2</sup> As Russia grew and became a maritime power the Eastland Company supplanted

<sup>1</sup>Cheyney, History of England, vol. 1, Chap. XV, and following from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup>Cheyney, History of England, vol. 1, Chap. XV.

the Muscovy Company in power and importance.

The importance of the Muscovy Company is evident from the knowledge of the East gained by English merchants, through its activities. This Company sent men, such as Jenkinson, 1557, as far as Bokhara, in Central Asia. Arthur Pett and Charles Jacknon were sent out in 1580 to reach China. These expeditions gathered information concerning the East, its commodities and commerce. This partial information served but to whet the interest of the British merchants.

Overland trade by way of Muscovy to the East was rendered both difficult and hazardous, upon the outbreak of hostilities in 1580 between Persia and the Turks. This cessation was keenly felt, for in 1576 the Shah of Persia had granted to the English merchants protection for goods and property, and immunity from taxes.<sup>1</sup>

The result of the cessation of overland trade was to divert interest from Muscovy to the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. In rapid succession we see the formation of the Levant Company, Morocco Company, and the Exeter Company. The Levant Company founded in 1581, sent out John Newberrie to India in 1583. Newberrie and his companion Fitch travelled overland to India. Fitch reached Goa, was imprisoned by the Portuguese, escaped, and journeyed widely over northern India. He returned to England in 1591.

The voyage that had more far-reaching effect upon English merchants was that of Drake's from 1577 to 1580. This voyage gave the English the information they lacked concerning the voyage

<sup>1</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, / Introduction, p.2.



around the Cape of Good Hope, and the path to Sumatra. Drake on his way home, had anchored in Ternate, and made a treaty of peace and amity with the Sultan of Ternate. The Sultan promised to supply to the English merchants that might frequent his territory, all the spices of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Commercial and colonial activity in America at this period is chiefly represented by the expeditions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. The former established a temporary colony on Newfoundland in 1583. Sir Walter Raleigh undertook several fruitless and discouraging expeditions to Virginia in 1584, again in 1587, and to Guiana in 1595.

Cavendish in 1588 repeated Drake's exploit, sailing from Plymouth July 21, 1588, and returning to the same port September 9, 1588.<sup>2</sup> It is important to bear in mind that Cavendish sailed through the Sunda Straits on his homeward voyage.

Drake in 1587 captured a Portuguese carrack off the Azores islands. The vessel was brought to England. Here a wealth of information concerning trade with the East Indies was found upon a careful examination of her papers and cargo.<sup>3</sup>

It is not until the year 1591 that a voyage was made for the specific purpose of reaching India. The fleet consisting of the Penelope, Merchant Royal, Edward Bonaventure, commanded by James Lancaster and George Raymond, sailed for India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Sickness decimated and weakened the crews so fearfully

<sup>1</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.2.

<sup>2</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.3.

<sup>3</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.3.



that the Merchant Royal was sent home before the Cape was rounded. A storm separated the two remaining vessels, and in all probability destroyed George Raymond and his crew, as the vessel was never heard of again. Undaunted by this occurrence, Lancaster proceeded on his voyage, failing to reach India, but landing on the island of Sumatra. A cargo of spices was loaded, and the ship headed for the Moluccas.<sup>1</sup> Sickness among the crew prevented this destination being reached, whereupon a course was laid for England. Lack of provisions forced Lancaster to head for the West Indies. While on shore, a storm arose and forced the crew to put to sea, leaving Lancaster and a few men on the island. The ship gaping at every seam, its cargo ruined, and crew in the last extremities, finally reached Plymouth. A passing French bark rescued Lancaster and his comrades.<sup>2</sup> A Portuguese carrack, the Madre de Dios of 1600 tons, was captured by an English vessel and brought to Dartmouth. A cargo consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, etc. valued at £150,000, indicated the richness of Eastern commerce. The ship's papers furnished even more important information concerning Asiatic trade, besides supplying important maps.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Robert Dudley's ill-fated expedition of 1596, was a most discouraging blow to prospective traders with the East. The object of the expedition was to reach, and open relations with, the rich realm of Cathay. The fate of the expedition remains a mystery to this day, no trace of the fleet having ever been found.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.3.

<sup>2</sup>Beckles, Ledger and Sword, p.12.

<sup>3</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.4.

<sup>4</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I. Introduction, p.4.

Three years later Elizabeth sent Sir John Mildenhall to the court of the Great Mogul. The overland route was followed. The hostility of the Portuguese was instantly aroused when they discovered Mildenhall's purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Dutch cupidity, added to these tentative attempts to establish relations with the East, was the final chain that led to the formation of the East India Company. In 1597, the Dutch raised the price of spices from three shillings to eight shillings per pound.<sup>2</sup> This was more than even the London merchants could bear.

On September 22, 1599, the Lord Mayor of London, many Aldermen, merchants, and others to a total of 101, gathered in Founders Hall and organized "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." The sum raised in anticipation of the intended voyage was 30, 133.6 sh. 8 d.<sup>3</sup>

#### POLITICAL ASPECT TO 1625

The above brief survey of the expansion of commercial activities gives a necessary foundation for a just appreciation of the mutiny in Founders Hall. Future activities of the newly fledged company are so inextricably interwoven and influenced by the political changes in Europe and Asia, that a few words explaining the trend of these conditions will help materially in clearing up vague details.

The countries thus briefly discussed will be treated in the following order: England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, India,

<sup>1</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, Introduction, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Macpherson, History of European Commerce, 3, p.77.

<sup>3</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company, p.3.



Persia, Japan, Turkey.

The English attitude towards Spain until the year 1588, was one of hostility, tempered by expediency. Queen Elizabeth in 1586 dismissed the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, for complicity in plots against her life. In the following year Mary Queen of Scots was executed. The Invincible Armada was decisively beaten in 1588. This removed the danger of invasion, but did not lead to peace. The English retaliatory attacks on Portugal in 1589, under command of Drake and Morris were not successful. Essex and Raleigh had a partial success in their assault of Codez in 1596. The "Island Voyage" to the Azores of 1597 was only moderately productive of results. Elizabeth's increasing age, coupled with the death of the great sea-captains, prevented a rigorous renewal of hostilities.<sup>1</sup>

Political solidarity of a sort existed between Holland and England, but all alliances were forgotten outside Europe, and the dictum "no peace beyond the line" held full sway. The ultimate cause for the Dutch and English attitude was the common tie of a Protestant religion, and open enmity with Spain.

Holland, from 1579, was in active revolt against Spanish dominion. The Confederacy of the Northern provinces was completed in 1579.<sup>2</sup> Perfect harmony was not restored among the Catholic and Protestant elements of the provinces. A Frenchman, the Duke of Anjou, and also a Catholic, was offered the sovereignty January 23, 1581. This was more than the inhabitants of the provinces of Holland and Zealand were able to bear. They refused to accede to

<sup>1</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911. Ed. vol. 9, p.534.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 13, p.595.



this, and proclaimed William of Orange, Count of Holland and Zeeland, July 24, 1581.

In March of the same year Philip II of Spain declared William a traitor. In retaliation William prevailed upon the delegates of the two provinces to pass the act of Abjuration. This act in substance declared that Philip III had forfeited his right as sovereign ruler of the two provinces.

To relieve an anomalous condition, and remove a powerful antagonist, the Duke of Anjou attacked Antwerp, January 17, 1583. His purpose was to gain possession of the person of William of Orange. The attempt failed on account of the stern resistance offered by the staunch burghers of Antwerp.

What force had thus failed to accomplish, craft and religious fanaticism achieved. William of Orange was assassinated July 10, 1584.<sup>1</sup> Treacherously deprived of their capable leader, the Portestants were unable to make headway against the Spanish veterans. The Duke of Parma in turn assaulted and took by storm Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp. These reverses but hardened the resolve of the Dutch to prevent the total subjugation of their land.

At this stage in the affair, Elizabeth became alarmed. She agreed to send 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, under the Earl of Leicester to aid in checking the Spanish hordes. The cities of Brill, Flushing, and Rammekens were handed over as pledges. This fact must be borne in mind, for its importance will become apparent when James I became King of England.<sup>2</sup> Leicester's mission accomplished

<sup>1</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 13, p.596.

<sup>2</sup>In 1616 James I delivered over these cautionary towns for £200,000. Bruce, Annals of the East India Company. p.599.

but little. He left for England, August, 1587. The treachery of two of his commanders, Stanley and York, had permitted the Spaniards to occupy Deventer and Zutphen. The heroic act of Sir Philip Sydney is the one bright spot in this otherwise gloomy picture.<sup>1</sup>

Success was now near at hand. Maurice of Nassau was elected governor-general in February of 1586. His personality effected a wonderful change. Deventer and Zutphen were retaken, and Poena driven from the seige of Krodsenburg.

The Triple Alliance of 1596 gained for Holland international recognition based upon her military successes. The further victory of Nieuport, July 1, 1600, the failure of the efforts made by Spinola to put down the revolt, stirred up Dutch enthusiasm. All fear of a naval invasion was ended by the decisive victory of Admiral Heemshirk gained off Gibraltar, April 1607.

Even Spain was now ready to call a halt. A truce was made April 1609, to last until 1621.<sup>2</sup>

The relations of Spain and Portugal are so intimately connected from 1580 onwards, that they may be discussed together. Philip II had assumed control of Portugal in 1580, upon the death of King Sebastian, who had left no heirs. This act was confirmed by a Portuguese Cortez in 1581.<sup>3</sup> The bearing of this fact upon the foreign complications between the East India Company and Portugal cannot be overestimated.

<sup>1</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 13, p.599.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 13, p.597.

<sup>3</sup>Chapman, History of Spain. p.252.



Philip III became king of Spain 1598-1621. His rule was weak, and filled with defeats at home and abroad. With a voluptuary king, it was easy for the Duke of Lerma to manage the government.<sup>1</sup> The expulsion of the Mariscoes from 1610<sup>2</sup> onward, are but a link that is further lengthened by a decline in military prestige, loss of colonies, and stagnation of trade.

Affairs in India now call for consideration. Akbar the Great laid the foundations of the Mogul Empire from 1556 to 1605.<sup>3</sup> His son Jehangir succeeded him, and ruled until 1627. His reign is a continual recital of revolts, unsuccessful conquests, court intrigues, rebellion of refractory sons, and finally of his trusted general Mahabat Khan.

The eldest son Khusru, rebelled in 1606. His attempt was abortive and resulted in his imprisonment. The court intrigues centered about, and were encouraged by, Nur Jehan "the Light of the World," Jehangir's beautiful wife.

Jehangir was unsuccessful in his effort to conquer the Deccan. In 1612, his attempt to overcome the state of Ahmadnagar was thwarted by the astute and versatile Abyssinian, Malik Ambar, prime minister of the kingdom. A compensatory victory was achieved in 1613-14 over the Udaipur Rajah, by Shah Jehan, the second son of Jehangir. Further revolts broke out upon the borders of the Empire of Kabul.

Ahmadnagar was temporarily occupied 1616-1617, but was offset by the capture of Kandahar in 1621 by the Persians. Two

<sup>1</sup>Chapman, History of Spain. p.259.

<sup>2</sup>Chapman, History of Spain, p.272.

<sup>3</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 14, p.403.



years later, 1623-1625, Shah Jehan revolted and made common cause with Malik Ambar. The victorious general Mahabat Khan seized Jehangir and kept him a prisoner, releasing him in 1626. Jehangir does not seem to have profited by his experience, for next year we find Mahabat Khan sent against Malik Ambar, and Shah Jehan. Mahabat Khan broke his trust and joined the prince.<sup>1</sup>

As England had her Elizabeth, the Mogul Empire her Akbar, so Persia her Shah Abbas "The Great", 1586-1628. Abbas began his reign most inauspiciously. He was in revolt against his father, Mahommed Mirza, or Khudabanda. The Usbeks, from Central Asia, had invaded the country and seized Herat and the sacred city of Meshed. Abbas was unable to oppose them successfully since a revolt against his rule had broken out in Fars. Further trouble was brewing between Murad, the Sultan of Turkey, and Abbas, over a dispute concerning territory in Georgia. A peace negotiated in 1590 settled the dispute, but only at the cost of Tabriz and several Caspian ports lost by Persia.

Shah Abbas now turned his attention to the north. In the campaign of 1597 Herat was regained, Khorasan reconquered. Khandahar was seized from the Great Mogul. A new war with Sultan Mohammed III of Turkey did not interfere with the Shah's policy. The weakness of the Sultan paralyzed the efforts of his armies and rendered their operation ineffectual and indecisive.<sup>2</sup>

The frequent rise of a strong ruler who repelled foreign invasion, put down civil war, and united his country, finds another

<sup>1</sup>Hunter, The Indian Empire. p.358.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 21, p.229.

parallel in Iyeyasu of Japan. In 1600 there were two factions in Japan, one led by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, and Ishida Mitsumari. Iyeyasu defeated his enemy at the battle of Mino, October 21, 1600.

Hideyari and his mother, the son and wife of Ishida Mitsumari, fled to Osaka. Iyeyasu refrained from pursuing them for fear of weakening his position by appearing as a persecutor. In spite of his tolerance fresh troubles arose in 1615 in which the widow and son perished, during the storming of Osaka.

The battle of Mino, in the province of Iekigahara, was a turning point in Japanese history. Until 1864 Japan was untroubled by civil war, a span of nearly two hundred years. Iyemitsu, the grandson of Iyeyasu, ruled from 1623 to 1650.<sup>1</sup>

Turkey offers an unpleasant contrast when compared with the countries just discussed. Ahmed ascended the throne of the caliphs in 1603. He was then fourteen years old. Before he had an opportunity to show his worth death overtook him in 1617. Mustapha, his brother, was then elevated to the Sultanship, but ruled hardly a year. Osman, upon the fall of the incompetent Mustapha, held sway from 1618 to 1622. Under his guidance peace was made with Persia, by renewing the treaty of 1611.

Court intrigues, sponsored by the Janissaries, led to the murder of Osman in 1622. Mustapha was recalled, but again ruled but a year, abdicating in favor of his nephew, Murad IV. Murad IV continued as Sultan from 1623 until 1640.<sup>2</sup>

This brief summary reveals that in Europe, Spain and Portugal were decadent, both militarily and commercially. Holland

<sup>1</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 15, p.262.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 27, p.452.



was the rising power. Her strength rested on her powerful navy, and her readiness to decide issue by a resort to war. The English power was hampered by an unpopular king. His foreign policies greatly influenced the treatment accorded to the newly founded company.

The case in Asia is somewhat different. Turkey was kept in a state of constant anarchy and uncertainty. Persia, under the guidance of Abbas, became a united and strengthened kingdom. Akbar the Great laid the foundations of the Mogul Empire, that survived all disasters for over two and a half centuries. Japan was unified and presented a strong front to the foreigner. In fact the empire was closed to Europeans, and all Japanese Christians either killed or forced to recant.

Inaccessibility of material renders impossible a consideration of the political status of lesser states such as Siam, Ternate, Tidore. It is true that the native princes of these states often hindered and even prevented commercial intercourse to English merchants. It is hoped that such conditions will be made sufficiently plain by consulting the letters and journals kept by the factors and officials. Generally these princes fully justify the popular belief so widely prevalent concerning oriental potentates.



## CHAPTER I

### FORMATION OF THE COMPANY

September 22, 1599, 101 merchants of London, headed by Sir Stephen Soame, Lord Mayor of London, met and subscribed £30, 133.6 sh. 8 d. "to venter in the pretended voyage to the East Indies."<sup>1</sup> This meeting was composed of such men as Richard Staper, Thomas Middleton, Richard Aldworthe, Richard Cocks, Thomas Smith, Robert Middleton, and many others who later became prominent both as members of the Company in England, or as factors, merchants, and captains in the East. The future Governor who guided the Company from 1600 to 1621, Sir Thomas Smith, was thus a charter member.

So promising a start was followed by a meeting on September 24, 1599, in Founders Hall. The assembly consisted of a smaller group of about fifty-seven individuals. At this time the Company was permanently organized, and formulated.<sup>2</sup> Several rules were drawn up and adopted for the guidance of the projected undertaking. All subscriptions, or stock were limited to money, thus excluding goods, ships, or services of any kind whatsoever.<sup>3</sup> A committee of fifteen members were appointed to superintend the preparation for the voyage, and application for a charter. The power of this committee was somewhat limited by the provision that no factor was to be appointed except "by a generall Assemblie of the

<sup>1</sup>Court Records of the East India Company. p.1.

<sup>2</sup>Court Records. pp.5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p. 6.

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<sup>1</sup>Court Records of the East India Company. p.1.

<sup>2</sup>Court Records. pp.5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p. 6.



adventurors and then elected by the consent of the greater number of them assembled."<sup>1</sup> The committee of fifteen was known as "the committies of ye directors of the viage." From the beginning all executive business was transacted by committees, who reported their decisions or actions to the general assembly. The General Court, as the judicial function exercised by the assembly, either approved or voiced their dissent of such measures as was presented to them.<sup>2</sup>

Between the formal formation of the Company on September 24, 1599, and its official recognition signalized by the issuance of the charter dated December 31, 1600, lies a period extremely depressing to the would be founders. A petition for a charter was "delivered to ye Lords of Her Maes Most honorable privie Counsaill," October 4, 1599.<sup>3</sup> A special delegation of seven members were selected to hold an interview with the Privy Council, in order to expedite matters.

Queen Elizabeth had expressed her approval, and the Privy Council was favorable, when opposition of a political nature developed Spain dispatched commissioners to draw up a treaty putting an end to hostilities that had lasted intermittently since 1588. Under these conditions a petition to the Lords of the Council "soliciting their lordship's warrant, that the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance notwithstanding the treaty," received the reply that "their lordships declined granting such warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of mer-

<sup>1</sup>Court Records. p.6.

<sup>2</sup>Further subscribers to the company were limited to those adventurors who pledged a sum of 200 or more. Court Records. p.7.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p.10.

chants to entertain a peace than that the same should be hindered by the standing with the Spanish Commission for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forgo the opportunity of concluding the peace."<sup>1</sup> The Company was extremely perturbed by this stand. How serious was the effect of this reply may be gauged by the feeling of the members, who "fearing lest after they were drawn into a charge they should be required to desist from the voyage, were determined to give up the concern."<sup>2</sup> Such a mishap was rendered unnecessary by the failure of the mission.

Meanwhile the delay was advantageous in one respect. Committees were at work vigorously pushing the preparations being made for the voyage. Each man on the committee aided by one or two others superintended the preparation of a specific piece of the undertaking. Such tasks as the purchase of supplies, ships, cordage, etc. was thus delegated to men who had a special knowledge of these details. This worked for efficiency and thoroughness. No one who has not read the Court Records of 1599-1633 can imagine the pains taken over the supervision of the preparation of this the first voyage. From time to time these committees reported their progress to the General Court, where their actions were discussed critically, condemned, or commended.<sup>3</sup>

The fleet consisted of four ships. The Admiral or Mare Scourge, renamed the Red Dragon, a ship of 600 tons, was bought from the Earl of Cumberland for £3,700. The Hector, 300 tons, Susan of

<sup>1</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I, Introduction, p.5.

<sup>2</sup>Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I, Introduction, p.5.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p.60.



240 tons, cost £1,600, the Ascension of 260 tons, and a victualler of 100, called the Gift, was purchased for 300.<sup>1</sup> A careful selection of the personnel was also made. Captain Lancaster, of the expedition of 1591, was chosen the supreme commander. Captain John Davis was "Pylott Maior" of the expedition. He had been in the Dutch services and was thus acquainted with the East. Captain Middleton was the principal factor, and as such commanded the Hector.<sup>2</sup> William Brunde "a grave and discreet merchant and one wich hath the Arabyn. Spanishe and Portugall luanges" held a like position in the Ascension.<sup>3</sup>

Of the lesser factors we find three grades. Men such as William Starkey and Henry Middleton, who later became extremely important, held these positions.<sup>4</sup> The rigid exclusion of the incompetent and also all nobles and gentry was early decided upon. The Company had early resolved "not to employ a gentleman in any place of charge," and "that they might be allowed to sorte their business with men of their own qualite, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the Adventurors to withdraw their contributions."<sup>5</sup>

The Commanders, pilots, and four chief factors numbered ten. The second, third, and fourth-class factors, twelve; those sent out without any salary, but with the prospect of filling vacancies caused by death, or to learn the language, numbered eight, bringing the total to twenty-eight.<sup>6</sup> The commanders were paid a

<sup>1</sup>Court Records, Introduction. pp.12-13; also p.263.

<sup>2</sup>Court Records. p.100.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>Court Records. p.101.

<sup>5</sup>Ledger and Sword, I, p.38. <sup>6</sup>Court Records. pp.101-2. Milburn, p.6, Ledger and Sword, p.41, state the number as 30 factors.

salary and also given an interest in the stock of from £100 to £200.<sup>1</sup> The agreement made with John Davis is both illustrative of the high expectations entertained, as well as the system of bonuses used. Davis was to receive £500 if the profits were between 100-200 %, and were they as high as 500 %, a sum of 300.<sup>2</sup> The principal factors received for equipment 100, a store of 200 stock; the second class 50 equipment, and 100 stock, while the third class but 20, and 40 respectively. Private trade was utterly forbidden; the securities for the principal factors were 500, while the lesser deposited 500 marks, 200 li, and 100 li.<sup>3</sup> The crews totaled 440 men; Red Dragon 180 men; Hector 100; Ascension 80; Susan 80.<sup>4</sup> The crew was advanced two months' salary before sailing.<sup>5</sup> The liberal treatment accorded by the Company to its servants has always been noticeable. In spite of the fearful mortality among the crews, the manning of the ships never became a problem. In one of the early voyages the ships were forced to return and land forty-five stowaways who wished thus to enter the employ of the Company.

The details concerning the material and personal equipment of the fleet were all completed by December 27, 1600. Four days later the long sought for charter was granted, and the long period of delay and uncertainty was at an end.

<sup>1</sup> Milburn, Oriental Commerce, I, Introduction, p.6.

<sup>2</sup> Court Records. p.37.

<sup>3</sup> Court Records. p.105; Milburn I, Introduction. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Court Records. p.263. Ledger and Sword, I, states it as being 480.

<sup>5</sup> Court Records. p. 94.



## THE FIRST CHARTER

The title of the Company was to be "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies." The Company was organized as a "Body Corporate and Politick," and as such could "retain, possess, enjoy, Lands, Rents, Privileges, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises and Hereditaments." Further privileges were included such as the right to "grant, demise, alien, assign and dispose of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments." As a body politic and corporate they were able to "Plead, and be impleaded, answer and be answered, depend, and be depended in Courts, Places, before whatsoever Judges."<sup>1</sup>

A coat of arms and seal was assigned to the Company.<sup>2</sup> As early as December 31, 1600, a committee had decided on and "agreed that the goodes shipped by the companie and the cashe shall be marked with this genale marke in the mergent."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Charters Granted. p.3.

<sup>2</sup>Court Records. p.107.

<sup>3</sup>Court Records. p.107.

The motto on the coat of arms was "Deus Indicat". The shield was divided into two compartments, the upper bearing between two conventional red roses on a golden ground an "additionment out of the arms of England," namely a four divided square, having in its first and fourth quarters, a golden fleur-de-lis, on a blue ground, and in its second and third, a golden lion, passant guardant, on a ground of red; and in the lower three quaint-fashioned ships, with streaming ensigns of St. George, in full sail on the tranquil azure of the new-found southern seas. The supporters are blue sea-lions,

A Governor was the director of the Company. The first to hold this position was Sir Thomas Smith,<sup>1</sup> who continued on till 1621. This office was an elective one, subject to yearly renewal. Future elections were to be held on July 1, of each year, or not later than the seventh of the same month.<sup>2</sup> At first thought such a plan shows an element of weakness through lack of a possibly continuous policy. Such was not the case practically. Death, ill-health, or election to the mayoralty of London alone interfered with the constant re-election of the same person. The regulations for the choice of the Deputy-Governor were exactly similar. Simple majority vote was sufficient for both election or removal of these officials.<sup>3</sup> Technical problems concerning the preparation for the voyages, were placed under the charge of twenty-four committees, or men. Their election, term of office, and removal coincided with that of the Governor and Deputy-Governor.

With regard to the field of trade the following quotation shows the generosity of Elizabeth -- when it cost her nothing. The charter granted privilege to "truly traffick . . . into and from the said East Indies, in the countries and Ports of Asia, Africa, and into and from all the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Towns, and Places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Bora Esperanza, to the Straights of Magellan."

flushed with gold, one on either side, and the crest a sphere celestial, between standards of St. George, and overhung by the motto "Deus Indicat." Below all is a second motto "Deo ducente nunc nacet." -- Report of Old Court Records. p.21. Court Records, p.171, place cost of the arms as 20 marks.

<sup>1</sup>Charters. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Charters. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Charters. p.10.



Protection against governmental control was provided for as follows "without any molestation, Impeachment, or Disturbance, any Statute, Usage, Diversity of Religion or Faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoever, to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup> So always the same Trade be not undertaken, nor addressed to any country, Island, Port, Haven, City, Creek, Town, or Place, already in the lawful and actual Possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any Time hereafter shall be in league or Amity with us . . . and who doth or will not accept of such Trade but doth avertly declare and publish the same, to be utterly against his or their Good Will and Liking."<sup>2</sup> This clause would have prevented all trade with any territory controlled by Holland, Spain, or Portugal.

To forestall any future complications the Company presented a memorial to the Queen, requesting her to inquire from the Spanish commission the names of all ports under their control. A promise to refrain from all trade with these ports was given. Were the commissioners to refuse, the Company appended a list of such ports compiled from Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and English sources. Sir Francis Walsingham examined these assertions, and transmitted them to the Queen through the Secretary of State Fulke Greville.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hakluyt had aided in the preparation of this list, the transcription of maps, especially "a greate Italian one," for which he was paid 10, February 16, 1601.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Charters. p.12.

<sup>2</sup>Charters. p.13.

<sup>3</sup>Bruce. Annals of the E. I. C. 1, p.115-121.

<sup>4</sup>Ledger and Sword, 1, p.34. This was Linschoten's map referred to as the "augmentation of the Indies" by Shakespeare.

The Portuguese possessions at this time were Muscat, Ormus, Bussora, Diul, Diu, Damon, Chaul, Dabul, City of Baasein and Tomah on the island of North Salsette, Goa, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannore, Calicut, Cranganore, Port of Cochin, Coulon, Quiloea, Taccatra, Japanaptam, Negapatan, Meliapor or St. Thome, near Martaban. Dutch possessions are listed as islands of Tidore, Amboyna, Moluccas, Bandas, Jaccatra (Batavia), Pulicat, Masulipatam, Negapatnam, Cananore, Cochin, Bassore through the expulsion of the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup>

A perusal of this memorial gives much information on the extent of the known East. The spheres of Spanish or Portuguese influence are listed as "the Isle of Madagascar, or San Lorenzo, upon the backside of Africa." "The Kingdom of Orixa (Orissa?) Bengala, Aracon (Deccan?)". "The rich and mightie kingdom of Pegu," and of "Juncaloon," "Siam," "Cambodia," and "Cochinchina." "The most mighty and wealthy empire of China."<sup>2</sup> "The rich and golden island of Sumatra," and of "Java Major, Java Minor," and "Bally, Borneo, Celebes, Gilalo," and "Os Papuas." "The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon." "The rich and innumerable islands of Molucos and the Spicrie, except the two small islands of Tidore and Amboyna, where the Portugals have only two small forts." Mandanao, and Calamines, and the greate and small Lequcos." "The manifold and populas sylvir islands of the Japons,"<sup>3</sup> and the country of Caray (Cathay?) newly discovered to the North East.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bruce, Annals of the E. I. C. 1, pp.28-29.

<sup>2</sup>Reports of the Old Court Records. p.199.

<sup>3</sup>Beckles in his Ledger and Sword, 1, p.113, gives the following: Portuguese exported in 1 year, 1635, 100 tons gold = £ 875,000



Sir Francis Walsingham asked for "the names of such kings as are absolute, and either have warr or traffique with the Kinge of Spaine." Sir Faulke Grevile answered "to the kingdom of Cambaia which is the fruitfulest of all India, and both exceeding great traffique, Malabars "who are the best soldiers of India," subdivided into six kingdoms of Baticola, Cochin, "Chananor, Chaule, Coulon, Calechut." Beyond "is the kingdome of Marsenga," then the kingdom of Orexin (Orissa?) and Bengalen, "as also of the Aracan (Deccan?) Pegu, Siam, Tanassara and Queda." "The island of Sumatra or Taprabuna is possessed by many kynges, enemies of the Portugals; the chief is the Kinge of Dochem (Achin?) who besieged them in Molocca, and with his gallies stopped the passage of victuales and traffiche from China, Japan, Molocca." "The Kynges of Acheyn and Tor (Tidore?) are alike sorte enemies of the Portugals."<sup>1</sup> "The Philippines belonged to the crown of China, but abandoned by him, were possessed by the Spaniards, who have traffique there with the merchants of China." "They traffique also with the Chinoes at Machau (Macao?) and Japan." "And lastlie, at Goa there is great resort of all nations from Arabia, Armenia, Cambara, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, Malocca, and China, and the Portugals suffer them all to lyve

In 1636	exported from Japan	2350 chests of silver	= £ (875,000)
In 1637	"	"	= £ 587,500
In 1638	"	"	= £ 535,591
			= £ 314,756

Total £ = 2,312,847

Dutch exported in one year (date uncertain) 80 tons gold £ 700,000  
 1400 chests of silver £ 1,150,000  
 From 1611-1641 average rate of 60 tons gold per year = £ 15,000,000  
 Also 1400 chests of silver 450,000 = £ 13,500,000

Total sterling = £ 31,692,847 £ 295,500,000

Report of the Old Court Records. p.199

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Old Court Records. p.200.

there after their own manner and religions; only for the matter of justice are they ruled by the Portugal law."<sup>1</sup>

Freedom from export taxes on all goods sent on the first four voyages was granted the Company; "free of custom, subsidy or Poundage or any other Duties or Payments." Import duties were not removed. Half the duty was to be paid upon entrance of the goods into the country, while six months were to elapse before "the Payment of the other Half of the said custom, Poundage, or other subsidy or Duties, receiving good and sufficient Bonds, with surety."<sup>2</sup> All duties paid on goods that might be lost on the outward voyage, were to be deducted from the amount of custom paid on imported commodities.<sup>3</sup>

To find the essence of the mercantile system we have but to refer to the Charter. A clause reads that the Governor and Company "are like to bring to this our Realm, a much greater Quantity of foreign commodities, than can be spent for the necessary use of the same our Realm"<sup>4</sup> . . . "transport same in English freely out of this Realm, as well ungarbled as garbled without payment of any further custom, Poundage or any further subsidy," within thirteen months of their importation. This was to regain some of the money that had been shipped to the East. The Company was permitted "to transport out of this our Realm of England, all such foreign coin of silver, either Spanish or other foreign silver, as they have procured, prepared, and gotten, and shall procure, prepare

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Old Court Records. p.201.

<sup>2</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company. p.15.

<sup>3</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company. p.16.

<sup>4</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company. p.16.



or get, as likewise all such other coin of Silver, as they have procured or shall procure, to be coined in our mint within our Tower of London, out of such Plate or Bullion, as is or shall be provided by the Governor and Company, . . . before the going forth of the same Fleet in this their First Voyage, do not exceed the Value or Sum of 30,000 Stirling, so the sum of £ 6,000 at the least Parcel of the said Sum of £ 30,000 be first coined in our mint." The privilege of shipping out £ 30,000 a year was granted for fifteen years, but £ 6,000 must first be coined in the mint. It was also provided that in any voyage except the first the Company, "shall and will upon every Return which shall be made back again into this our Realm, . . . or within six months next after such Return bring into this our Realm of England from the said East Indies, . . . as great or greater value in Bullion of Gold or Silver, or any other foreign coin of Gold or Silver respectively, . . . as shall be by Force of these Presents transported, and carried out of this Realm." Shipment of coin was restricted to London, Plymouth, and Dartmouth.<sup>1</sup>

Regularity of dispatch of yearly fleets was guaranteed by the proviso "that if in any Time of Restraint, Six good ships, and Six good Pinnaces, well furnished with Ordnance and other munitions for their Defence and Five Hundred mariners, English men to guard and sail in the same . . . during Said Term of Fifteen years, shall quietly be permitted and suffered to depart, and go in the said

<sup>1</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company. pp.18-23.-- This money was coined after January 11,1600, and was called Portucallis money. Elizabeth's arms were stamped on one side, the reverse bore a Portucallis. The queen was anxious for her money to pass current in the East, but although the same weight as the Spanish piastre of eight would not be accepted by the natives. See First Letter Book, 1600-1619. pp. 13-14.

voyages . . . without any stay or contradiction." Yet if need arises in war, notice would be given about July 20, or three months before the ships would ordinarily sail on the voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Monopoly rights were granted and exclusion of all interlopers was expressly forbidden. The charter states that no other subject should trade with "any Port thereof," nor should any port "be visited, frequented, or haunted, by any of the subjects of Us . . . during the same Term of Fifteen years."<sup>2</sup> The Company might authorize such trade should they so wish. Any one trespassing on these rights should suffer confiscation of ships and goods, the property being divided between the Queen and the Company. Imprisonment and a bond of 1000 was an added restriction on illicit traders.<sup>3</sup>

Revocation of the charter and renunciation of all privileges were included in this document. Should any Christian state in amity and peace with England refuse trade, or the trade prove unprofitable "upon and after Two years Warning, to be given said Company . . . this present Grant shall cease, be void, and determined to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes."<sup>4</sup>

Cooperation and aid of the government officials was enjoined by a clause in the Charter. The grant reads that We "willing, hereby, and strictly charging and commanding all, and singular our Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Excheators, Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular of officers, ministers, liege men and Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favorable

<sup>1</sup>Charters Granted. pp.19-20.  
<sup>2</sup>Charters Granted. p. 20.  
<sup>3</sup>Charters Granted. p.21.  
<sup>4</sup>Charters Granted. p.25.



helping and assisting, . . . as well on land as on sea, from Time to Time, when you or any of you shall thereunto be required, any Statute Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or Restraint, heretofore had, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or Thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Charters Granted. p.25.

## CHAPTER II

FROM THE SAILING OF THE FIRST FLEET TO THE ISSUANCE OF THE  
CHARTER BY JAMES I, 1609

With a charter, and the liberal terms granted by it, the merchants hastened the preparations for the first voyage. A most pressing need now was to secure an increased stock; many times, in the early minutes, do we read complaints concerning the tardiness with which the money pledged was paid in. One of the early members, Sir Edward Michelbourne, never paid his subscription! A General Court, December 8, 1600, decided that those who were behindhand in their payments should be forced to pay all the costs of the delay.<sup>2</sup> Another Court meeting on January 9, decided to admit all new members who paid up £ 200, on an equal footing with the charter members.<sup>3</sup> March 6, the Company was in debt £ 9,000, with only £ 814 in the treasury, and an unpaid stock of £ 5,000<sup>4</sup> Finally it was decided to drop those who refused to pay. To raise a larger sum it was decided to let anyone subscribe until the stock had reached a total of £ 55,000.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of all efforts the sum was still insufficient. A General Court on January 9, decided to levy a voluntary assessment of 2 shillings per pound in order to make up the deficit.<sup>6</sup> All defaulters of this levy were penalized £ 10 on every £ 100 stock.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword. p. 37, also Court Records. p.93.

<sup>2</sup>Court Records. p.100.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p.156.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, p.

<sup>5</sup>Court Records. p.45.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, p.111.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. p.137.



A second levy was carried out April 1, 1600.<sup>1</sup> Stung to desperation the Company presented its case to the Privy Council, April 11, 1601. The decision reached was that all debtors were to be summoned to explain their actions, a refusal to obey being punished as a contempt of the Court.<sup>2</sup>

Stringent measures were necessary when it is remembered that only £ 30,133, 6 sh., 8 d. were subscribed. The shipping alone had cost £ 39,771, bullion £ 21,742, cargoes £ 6,860. The final stock was brought up to a total of £ 68,377, 0s.0d. by an addition of 20 percent on £ 57,543. 6. 8. brought the total to £ 69,091. 6. 8.<sup>3</sup> The members were given Bills of Adventure when they had paid their subscription in full.

The ships now received their cargoes of bullion in Spanish rials; iron, tin, lead, cloth<sup>4</sup> to a value of 6,860, and left Torbay April 22, 1601.<sup>5</sup> A stop was made in Saldanana Bay to refit and recuperate. Over 105 men had died of scurvy,<sup>5</sup> but Captain Lancaster had saved his men by the use of "the juice of lemons."<sup>6</sup> The Cape was rounded November 1, Madagascar reached November 17, a call made at the Nicolar islands, and anchor finally dropped in Achin June 5, 1602.<sup>7</sup> No time was lost in presenting the Queen's letter and the presents to the native potentate. These gifts were graciously received and a grant of privileges conferred.

<sup>1</sup>Court Records. p.161.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.165.

<sup>3</sup>Macpherson. History of European Commerce with India. p.81.

<sup>4</sup>Court Records. p.36.

<sup>5</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.81

<sup>6</sup>Voyage of Lancaster. p.62. Bruce. Annals of East India Co.

p.151

<sup>7</sup>Letters, I, XXIV.

<sup>8</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.81.

A summary of these rights will suffice for the purpose of understanding their scope and import. The grant contained these essential clauses: (1) Free entry and trade. (2) No duties to be levied. (3) Liberty of testament and right to bequeath goods without confiscation. (4) Bargains to be binding. (5) Complete legal jurisdiction over all Englishmen conferred on the Admiral. (6) Punishment for natives who injured any Englishman. (7) Freedom from arrest and stay of goods. (8) Toleration in religion and freedom of conscience.<sup>1</sup> (9) Permission to settle a factory.

Unluckily these grants were but empty phrases. Lancaster had these privileges but was unable to get any pepper. The Dutch and Portuguese had a monopoly on these commodities. For three months Lancaster vainly waited,<sup>2</sup> while each day saw the death of some of his crew. Finally he left the harbor on September 11, and sailed for the Malacca straits in a search for some Spanish or Portuguese ship which might supply his empty ships with a cargo. The St. Thome, a Portuguese carack of 900 tons, was overhauled and relieved of 950 packs of calicoes and pintadoes.<sup>3</sup>

Good news awaited Lancaster upon his return to Achin, October 24. The factors Starkey and Styles had accumulated sufficient pepper to load the Ascension and dispatch her to England.<sup>4</sup> The Susan had already left for Priaman, where her consorts joined her on November 26. Here the Susan was able to get 600 bahars of pepper and 60 bahars of cloves. A bag of pepper weighing 62 pounds cost 5½ rials, the rial being worth about 4 sh. 6 d. The custom duties

<sup>1</sup>Voyage of Lancaster. p.83.

<sup>2</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.50.

<sup>3</sup>Voyage of Lancaster. p.93.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.98.



were one rial per bag and 1500 rials anchorage dues.

Lancaster now dispatched the Susan to England, while he in the Dragon, with the Hector, sailed for Bantam, reaching there December 16, 1602.<sup>1</sup> Concessions similar to those received at Achin were requested and granted. The work of loading the ship was accordingly carried on. In contrast to the price paid above for pepper at Bantam, the price paid at Achin was 20 Spanish rials of eight a 100 pounds. A factory, in charge of William Starkey, and eight men were left at Bantam. A pinnace of 40 tons manned by twelve men, loaded with cloth and other goods, was dispatched for the Maluccas. Having completed his loading, Lancaster set his face toward the Cape February 20, 1603, reaching the Downs, September, 1603.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime transactions in England were not at all favorable to the Company. The failure to begin preparations for a new voyage was adversely commented upon by Elizabeth, who reproved the Company for "not following up the business with Spirit, in the manner of the Dutch."<sup>3</sup> Stirred up by this accusation a meeting was held September 13, 1601. A decision was reached providing for a new voyage; no person was to subscribe less than 100.<sup>4</sup> Affairs dragged on slowly, so slowly that by October 13, only £ 11,000 had been pledged.<sup>5</sup> Such a lack of interest may be partly explained by the fact that the Company was at this time sponsoring the voyage of George Waymouth to the North-west.<sup>6</sup>

March 24, 1603, Elizabeth died and was succeeded by James I. At the same time London was struck with a malignant plague.

<sup>1</sup> Voyages of Lancaster. p.98.

<sup>2</sup> Macpherson. European Commerce. p.82.

<sup>3</sup> Milburn. Oriental Commerce. I. p.VI.

<sup>4</sup> Court Records. p.186.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.189.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.198.

Over 38,000 persons were carried off, the city deserted, and business at a standstill.<sup>1</sup> It was during such a depressing period that the fleet returned. The merchants required 35,000 to pay their duties and to satisfy the wages of the mariners.<sup>2</sup> With an empty treasury, business at an ebb, the city deserted, affairs indeed looked gloomy. The difficulty was finally solved by each subscriber of £ 250 being assessed £ 200, and receiving in return £ 500 worth of pepper to dispose of as he might choose. By this method £ 60,450 were raised and all debts paid; the customs requiring £ 5,000, the wages of the seamen £ 30,000.<sup>3</sup>

Almost immediately the question arose of disposing of the cargo to the best advantage. The first ship had brought home 210,000 pounds of pepper, 1,100 pounds of cloves, 6,000 pounds of cinnamon, and 4,000 pounds of gum lacquer.<sup>4</sup> The large sum of 1,030,000 pounds of pepper had been brought in by the combined fleet. It appears that at least some of the duties must have been paid in kind, for a letter dated November 30, 1603, from the Lord Treasurer, asserts the right of the King to sell his pepper first. This right was waived, and consent given for a joint sale.<sup>5</sup> To guarantee the success of this sale it was imperative that a demand for pepper be created. The treasurer suggested that there should be "an Inhibition generall that no pepper should be brought into this kingdom, by either English or Stranger," and that "all such pepper as is alredie brought in . . . should be sequestered likywyse from sale" while a "present Survey be made of all such pepper," as had been

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.57.

<sup>2</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.83.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.83.

<sup>4</sup>First Letter Book 1600-19. p.29.

<sup>5</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.57.



given to the individual members of the Company. Such members were to be given leave to re-export their share, but may not sell any until the King and Company have disposed of their holdings.<sup>1</sup> To this suggestion Governor Smith, replying December 8, would not agree. He asserted that a person would not accept "v c . li of pepper for there is noe present sale thereof there is such drawinge back in farmeinge of this supplii that the voyadg hath not that expedicon wch were convenient." <sup>2</sup>

In spite of all difficulties the second voyage was ready to leave March 25, 1604.<sup>3</sup> The same four ships were sent out, with David Middleton as Captain-General of the Red Dragon; Christopher Colhurst in the Hector; Roger Stiles in the Ascension, and William Keeling in the Susan.<sup>4</sup> The expense of the voyage was: ships, 48,140, bullion, 11,160, goods, 1,142,<sup>5</sup> a total of 60,450.

Private trade by members of the expedition was limited to china dishes to a value of 3, not more than a small chest in bulk.<sup>6</sup> This order forbidding private trade appears again and again; nor was the Company ever able to eradicate it. Captain Middleton was instructed to buy "pepper, cloves, mace, nutmege, China silke, Indigo, Amber greece, muske, sevitt, Bezor stones, camphire, Beniamyn, Burrace (borax ii Latin borrace, new Latin baraeum, Arabic buraq, from Persian burrah) or Synamon." He was also given a list of the goods left with Starkey and that 1,500 bags of pepper left by Lancaster at Banda had been brought to Bantam in Dutch ships.<sup>7</sup> The com-

<sup>1</sup>First Letter Book. p.43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.44.

<sup>3</sup>Voyages of Middleton. p.1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.1.

<sup>5</sup>Bruce. Annals 1, p.146.

<sup>6</sup>First Letter Book. p.56.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. p.58.

mission issued to Middleton shows that England was overstocked with spices. He was ordered to invest the money in goods other than spices, "because you know that spices are here of no value we wish you to ymploy in some other comodities that may be of more estimacon and yeald a better proffit as raw selke well chosed." All accounts of this voyage were to be kept separate from that of the first voyage for "we will not have the same to be mixed in the accompt with the former adventure but doe request you to keepe the accompt of the ymployment hereof alone by yt selfe."<sup>1</sup>

Middleton left England March 26, 1604, and anchored off Bantam December 21, 1604.<sup>2</sup> Presents were presented to the king and privileges granted similar to those received by Lancaster.<sup>3</sup> The Hector and Susan loaded their holds with pepper at Bantam and set sail for England in the middle of February. The Dragon left for the Moluccas on January 18, and the Ascension for the Banda islands,<sup>4</sup> after the refusal of the Dutch to let them trade at Amboyna.<sup>5</sup> While proceeding to the Moluccas, Middleton saved the life of the Sultan of Ternate. Had it not been for Dutch threatening the Sultan, he would have granted the English the right to establish a factory. However, being unable to contend with the Dutch, Middleton left the harbor April 14.<sup>6</sup>

It was found that nutmegs, mace, "Pintados, Java gerdles," could be got in exchange for Indian cloths, namely from the towns of "Mesepotamya,"<sup>7</sup> Cherenondalle, and St. Thome,"and "some saye alsoe all Surat and Cambaya."<sup>8</sup> Such English goods as sword blades,

<sup>1</sup>First Letter Book. p.60.

<sup>2</sup>Letters Received, I, XXIII.

<sup>3</sup>Voyage of Middleton. p.18

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.18.

<sup>5</sup>Letters, I, XXVII - VIII.

<sup>6</sup>Voyage of Middleton.pp.36,71

<sup>7</sup>Mesepotamaya ie Masulipatom.

<sup>8</sup>First Letter Books. p73.



Reds and Stamel cloth of 10, 12, 14 shillings per yard, red velvet, green velvet, braided with flowers (ie Chinese and not English velvet), were used in barter for spices, cloves, mace, etc.<sup>1</sup> The same goods were vendable in Selebes (Celebes), Makassar (Macassar). Here rice, indigo, bezoar could be purchased. The rice when carried to Amboyna and Banda , "where you may get for it any sorte of spices before all ares that can be carried thither." Drinking glasses, knives were also useful articles for exchange.<sup>2</sup> Indian cloths, such as tenexto, English cloths, especially reds, stamels, velvets of all sorts, damasks, tappestries, found a ready market at Badonor<sup>3</sup> (ie Bator, southwest of Celebes).

The Dragon returned to Bantam on July 24, 1605, and remained there till October 6, when she sailed for England. A factory was left behind at Bantam, under the direction of Gabriel Towerson.<sup>4</sup> The Hector, commanded by Captain Keeling, was met with at the Cape. This vessel was in awful straits, the crew being reduced to ten Englishmen and four Chinese.<sup>5</sup> The ship, handicapped by the lack of hands, had been unable to round the Cape. In fact it had been found necessary to hire Chinese and Guzerat lascars before the Hector could leave Bantam harbor.<sup>6</sup> In spite of these difficulties, both vessels sailed into the Downs May 6, 1606. The Susan which had preceded these vessels was lost on the homeward voyage. In spite of this loss the interest on the venture amounted to 95 percent.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>First Letter Books. p.74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.p. 77.

<sup>4</sup>Voyage of Middleton. Appendix. p.27.

<sup>5</sup>Voyage of Middleton. p.77.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p.72.

<sup>7</sup>The old East Indiamen. E.Keble. p.71.

A third voyage left England March 12, 1607.<sup>1</sup> The Dragon, Hector, and Consent composed the fleet, while the captains were Middleton, Hawkins, and Keeling. The sailing orders forbade a stop at the Cape, but advocated the use of St. Augustine Bay in Madagascar. The islands of Pemba and Mozambique were not to be visited, although ivory might be purchased at Zanzibar, and two or three tons of aloes from the islands of Socotra. William Hawkins, in the Hector, was to proceed to Surat and there deliver the Company's letter asking trading privileges of the Great Mogul. The Consent and Dragon were to proceed directly to Bantam. At this time the factors were directed to buy silk from the Chinese, even "to force the Chinese to bring from Cheney sleeve and sewing silkes of the coulor and sizes we have now delivered to yo"<sup>2</sup> At the same time the fact was recognized that Indian cloths were more suitable for the spice trade than English goods. Accordingly a few factors were directed to proceed to "Mesopotamia in the partes of Bengalla, Cheremandall, St. Thome, to take good observacon what English commodities . . . are there best in request."<sup>3</sup>

A total stock of £ 53,500 was subscribed. The expenditure amounted to £ 28,620 for ships, £ 17,600 taken out in bullion, and £ 7,280 worth of English goods.<sup>4</sup> James I removed the injunction laid on the Company by Elizabeth requiring at least £ 6,000 to be minted in the Tower.<sup>5</sup> This aided the merchants, for as previously seen, such coins were worthless in the East. At the same

<sup>1</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.85.

<sup>2</sup>First Letter Book. p.119.

<sup>3</sup>Third Letter Book. p.119.

<sup>4</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. Bruce. p.146.

<sup>5</sup>First Letter Book. p.202.



time James I granted the Company the right to re-export spices without first clearing them.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Hawkins left his consorts at the Cape and laid a course for Surat. From this time we may say that the English interest was gradually transferred from the Spice Islands to India proper. Dutch and Portuguese enmity aided such a movement, while the rapidly decaying power of the Viceroy at Goa could not offer effective resistance. The growing demand for Indian cloths by the inhabitants of the Spice islands created a demand for commercial relations with India.

Proceeding on this voyage the Dragon and Consent anchored off Bantam in October, where they were joined by the Hector November 13. Hawkins had landed at Surat, pressed on to Agra to deliver his letter. His reception was cold, and the presentation of his petition brought no results.<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Roe declares that Hawkins was sent in disgrace from the court on account of his drunkenness.

The chief products of the islands of Socotra were listed as: olibanum, masteck, Sang-Dragonis, Turmereck, Blattalezantea, and aloes.<sup>3</sup> From a Guzerat ship at Tamarida it was learned that iron, lead, mercury, red lead, were articles greatly in demand along the Red Sea, especially at Aden and Mocha.<sup>4</sup> This information was later acted upon, with far-reaching results, as will be seen.

November 23, the Dragon, having completed her cargo, left Bantam and sailed for England. The Consent received part of her

<sup>1</sup>First Letter Book. p.198.

<sup>2</sup>Ledger and Sword, l. p.69 and Macpherson. European Commerce.p.86

<sup>3</sup>Voyage of Lancaster. p.116.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p. 117.

lading at Bantam, the rest at the Moluccas. A factory was left at Bantam under the charge of Augustine Spalding. A short trading venture was sent to the Banda islands in a small pinnace, under the orders of Captain Keeling. A cargo of cloves was bought at Amboyna for £ 2,948 15 sh., and later sold in England for £ 36,287.<sup>1</sup> This in part accounts for the profit of 234 percent received on the cargoes of the three vessels.<sup>2</sup>

Such returns were not always the reward gained through East India trade. The fourth voyage was a most unprofitable affair, both ships being wrecked. The whole investment of £14,000 spent on the purchase and repair of the ships, bullion £ 15,000, and goods £ 3,400, thus became a total loss.<sup>3</sup> The expedition consisting of the Ascension and Union, commanded by Captain Alexander Sharpleigh, and Captain Richard Rowles, sailed March 14, 1608.<sup>4</sup>

The two ships were separated by a storm while rounding the Cape. The Union continued on her voyage for Achin, while the Ascension turned her prow towards Aden. A safe conduct from the Sultan to his governors in Aden and Mocha was considered a sufficient guarantee of a friendly and profitable voyage. The Union touched at Achin, and completed her cargo at Priaman.. She had navigated the Indian and Atlantic oceans without mishap, when a violent storm arose and drove her ashore on the coast of Brittany. The cargo of £ 70,000 was nearly a complete loss.<sup>5</sup>

The same ill-luck followed the track of the Ascension. The

<sup>1</sup>Milburn. Oriental Commerce, l. p.vii

<sup>2</sup>The Old East Indiamen. Keble. p.74.

<sup>3</sup>Annals of the East India Company, l. p.155.

<sup>4</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.120.

<sup>5</sup>English Merchants. Bourne. p.240.



Sultan's pass did not shield the commander from indignities. He was detained by the governor at Aden, and only released when several Turkish hostages, who had been seized in reprisal, were liberated.<sup>1</sup> The ship itself was wrecked while attempting to reach Surat. The crew escaped in the boats, but were unable to save any of the cargo except the bullion.<sup>2</sup> After trying difficulties they reached Surat by the aid of the English factor Mr. Finch.

This review brings us down to the year 1609. The Company was in a perilous state. The enthusiasm created by the earlier voyages had been dissipated by the recent failures. James I was apathetic and even unfavorable. The infringement of their charter stirred the Company to action. Accordingly in 1609 an application for a new charter was presented for the royal approval.

<sup>1</sup>Voyage of Lancaster. p.127.

<sup>2</sup>Journal of John Jourdain. p.120.

## CHAPTER III

FROM THE CHARTER OF JAMES I, 1609, TO THE FORMATION  
OF THE FIRST JOINT STOCK, 1613

The year 1609 saw the Company older in wisdom, but in sad financial circumstances. A recent voyage had been a total failure,<sup>1</sup> and the support of the Court was gradually fading away. Under these circumstances, and especially through a fear of losing their monopoly rights, the Company, disregarding the six<sup>2</sup> remaining years granted by the Charter of Elizabeth, petitioned James for a new grant.

The attitude that James had assumed toward the Company may be accounted for by the influence exerted upon him by Sir Edward Michelbourne. It will be recalled that Sir Edward had been a charter member of the Company, but had been so remiss in paying his subscription that the general court had dropped his name from the roster of stockholders.

Such an affront was not borne meekly by the redoubtable knight. His opportunity soon presented itself. In 1604 Sir Edward prevailed upon James to grant him the privilege of trading with China, Japan, Korea, and Cambaya, provided English merchants were not already trading with these countries.<sup>3</sup> By December the expedition was prepared, and shortly afterwards set sail. On the outward voyage Sir Edward committed several piratical acts. Several Chinese junks were boarded and looted. Michelbourne even had the audacity to plunder a Dutch vessel in Bantam harbour.<sup>4</sup> These pirati-

<sup>1</sup>Bourne. English Merchants. p.240.

<sup>2</sup>Charters granted to East India Company. p.20.

<sup>3</sup>Milburn. Oriental Commerce. p.vii.

<sup>4</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.63.



cal acts gained for the English the execrations and hostility of both the Dutch and Chinese. Unable to exact reparations from the perpetrator of the deeds, the injured parties exacted compensation from the Company. The voyage gained nothing in the way of commerce or grants and privileges for trade. The illstarred fleet returned to England in July 1606.<sup>1</sup>

So open and flagrant a breach of the monopoly rights of the Company was firmly protested by Governor Smith, but without results. But two years were to pass by, when the Company was again threatened by a competitor. In 1608 Richard Pinkevell received a grant to trade with China and the Spice islands. The route to be employed was either by the North-West, or North-East passage.<sup>2</sup> To us such a grant may appear laughable on account of the impracticability of the route, yet at that time this route was considered very practical. So important had been the necessity for securing this supposedly shorter route to the East, that in 1602 the Company had borne the expense necessary to send Captain Waymouth on his voyage for the discovery of the North-West passage.<sup>3</sup> The failure of this expedition had cooled the ardor of the Company; but not until two hundred and fifty years later was the uselessness of the North-East passage, from a commercial point of view, finally thoroughly demonstrated.

May 31, 1609, the new charter was issued. Textually the differences between the two charters are unimportant. But two clauses may engage our attention. An individual who had subscribed, and for any reason failed to pay his dues within twenty days, might

<sup>1</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.84.

<sup>2</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.73.

<sup>3</sup>Court Minutes. pp.211-214.

be disfranchised by the Governor and General Court.<sup>1</sup> The most important clause in the charter was that which granted the Company "the whole entire and only trade and traffic to the East Indies FOREVER."<sup>2</sup>

Secured from the competition of interlopers, and again supported by the Court, the Company bestirred itself to unwonted activities. Two new vessels, the *Trades Increase*, of 1000 tons, and the *Peppercorn*, of 900 tons, were built by the Company at their docks at Deptford. The launching of the *Trades Increase* was witnessed by the King himself. In fact, James christened the vessel, and was entertained at a banquet on this, the largest merchant vessel built in England.<sup>3</sup>

James I in the same year issued a proclamation that still further aided the Company. A prohibition was laid on anyone but the East India Company from importing "pepper from forraine parts."<sup>4</sup> This rendered all fear of Dutch or Portuguese competition totally unnecessary.

Preparations for a sixth voyage were now vigorously prosecuted. A sum of £ 82,000 was raised by voluntary subscription. The shipping consumed a sum totalling £ 32,000, bullion to the value of £ 28,000 was shipped out, and a cargo of £ 21,300<sup>5</sup> was stowed aboard the vessels, *Trades Increase*, *Darling*, and *Peppercorn*.

The destination for this fleet was the Red Sea. This decision was arrived at through information received from the factors

<sup>1</sup>Charters Granted to the East India Company. p.50.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.45.

<sup>3</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.79.

<sup>4</sup>Voyage of Middleton. p.43.

<sup>5</sup>Annals of the East India Company. p.155.



in the East. It appears that these officials had learned that lead, tin, iron, steel, mercury, and red lead were in demand at Mocha and Aden.<sup>1</sup> Here it appeared would be a good market for the disposal of English goods. Chief factor Fennell was ordered to find "what commodities especially woolens and other goods of home manufacture . . . are most vendible, whereby trade may be carried on without sending out money."<sup>2</sup> The admiral Sir Henry Middleton was ordered to visit Aden and Mocha, but not to purchase any commodities while there except mace, cloves, and nutmegs, which might be disposed of at Surat. The goods intended for Surat were lead, tin, ivory, quicksilver, vermilion, sword blades, red lead, cloth, kerseys, looking-glasses, red caps. These goods were to be shipped up the river to Surat in frigates ie armed cutters. This was a necessary precaution against Portuguese hostilities.<sup>3</sup> Return goods were indigo, white calicoes, and bright coloured, twenty tons of Ceylon cinnamon, the same amount of cotton yarn, along with five tons of a coarser grade, four tons green ginger, three tons of red sandalwood, two tons of "turbithe," opium, benjamin, "Sall armoniach," two tons, ten tons of olibanun, lignum aloes, worm seeds, gumlac, and Persian silk.<sup>4</sup> The Darling and Peppercorn were to return with this cargo, while the Trades Increase proceeded to Priaman, Banda, and the Moluccas. Iron, calicoes, pintadoes were to be loaded at Priaman, and four hundred tons of pepper purchased for a return cargo. The only goods to be purchased at Bantam was silk, while cloves, and nutmegs

<sup>1</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.117.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.131.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.139.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.140.

were to be loaded at the Banda and Molucca islands.<sup>1</sup>

A letter was dispatched to be delivered to William Hawkins at Surat. He was informed that "those bas thinge as sweet fennell seede, cumyn, long pepper, and such lyke as are not worth the freight, we doe not expect nor doe wish you to send any."<sup>2</sup> Had the Great Mogul refused to grant a "capitulacon" Surat was to be abandoned in favor of Dabul or Negratille ie Nagor Tata, a town situated in the delta of the Indus.<sup>3</sup>

The expedition weighed anchor April 1, 1610. A stop to refit and recuperate was made at St. Augustine, a capacious haven in the island of Madagascar. Here the homeward bound Union was met, but sadly buffeted and undermanned.<sup>4</sup> December 12, the final lap of the voyage was begun, the course being steered for the Red Sea. The Peppercorn made its way to Aden, the Darling and Trades Increase sailing for Mocha.<sup>5</sup>

So far the voyage had been prosperous, but from this point nothing but misfortune befell the expedition. The Trades Increase ran upon a sand bar in Mocha harbor. Being unprotected by a firman from the Sultan, the Turks seized Captain Middleton and forty-eight of the sailors. All goods that had been landed were also detained. Deprived of their commander, the remaining members of the crew decided to sail for Ethiopia, January 18, 1611. On March 11, The Darling returned to Mocha and managed to return with thirty-six of the captives. Middleton and the remaining fifteen hostages

<sup>1</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.141.

<sup>2</sup>First Letter Book. p.317.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.321.

<sup>4</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.146.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.148.



were released a little later. The chief factor, Mr. Femell, was poisoned, his death occurring May 29.<sup>1</sup>

Thus for over six months the fleet had been detained, suffering a loss as estimated by Middleton of £ 3,600. Sir Henry Middleton was not one who could tamely submit to such indignities. To reimburse himself for his loss he blockaded Mocha from May 14 to June 19. During this time he captured the Reheme, or Great Mogul, of 1500 tons, another vessel of 600 tons, the Mohamadee of Surat of 150 tons, several from Dabul of 460, 200, 400 tons, three Malabar ships, and one of Carapatani.<sup>2</sup> The captured ships were forced to pay a ransom; the Reheme, 15,000 rials,<sup>3</sup> the Salamater, 6000 rials, the Mohamadee, 1,000, the Hassania, 8,000, the Coudree and Dabul ships being released unconditionally.<sup>4</sup> Middleton by this measure compensated himself for the valuable time lost while he was a Turkish prisoner.

Surat was the next port of call, being reached October 4, 1611. Even here the same misfortune seemed to follow those who had but so lately escaped the clutches of the Turk. Portuguese hostility prevented all communication between Middleton and Hawkins for some time. Finally John Jourdain managed to elude their vigilance and boarded the Trades Increase. His intelligence was far from cheering. Hawkins' mission had failed; he, himself, being disgraced while at court on account of his drunken debauches.<sup>5</sup>

The lack of a ~~phirmand~~ from the Great Mogul was a serious

<sup>1</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.148.

<sup>2</sup>Letters. I. p.156-190.

<sup>3</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.207.

<sup>4</sup>Letters. I. p.156-190.

<sup>5</sup>Journal of John Jourdain. p.172.

handicap. The arbitrary seizure of goods and individuals could not be prevented. Under these conditions trade was but meager. The Governor Mukarab Khan raised a controversy over the price of lead. Middleton fearing foul play refused to land any goods, and seized the governor of Surat as a hostage. These acts rendered trade at Surat very problematical<sup>1</sup> indeed. Under these circumstances Middleton sailed to Dabul.

The governor of Dabul was more favorable. He offered to buy broadcloth at 4 rails a covedo, kerseys at two rials, and lead at thirty-eight rials a mass.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this offer but little was sold, when Middleton directed the course to the Red Sea. Several Surat ships were overhauled and such goods as cinnamon, rice, indigo, cloves, drugs olibanum, lignum aloes, turbeth removed. Such were the methods employed to retrieve the monetary failure suffered by the prohibition of trade at Surat.<sup>3</sup>

April 14, the vessels of the eighth voyage, under the command of Saris, were met. The combined fleets proceeded to the Red Sea. Here it was decided that any future captures made were to be divided between the fleets. The sixth voyage receiving two-thirds, the eighth the remaining one-third. Five vessels of between 500 - 600 tons were captured, one belonging to Hogbanazan the governor of Surat. During this the Darling was blockading Mocha, in company with the Thomas.<sup>4</sup> The payment of a ransom and exchange of goods was again used to make good any losses suffered at the hands of the Turks and Indians.

<sup>1</sup>Journal of John Jourdain. p.182.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.194.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.205.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p.209.



Tiring of blockade duty, and wishing to engross the pepper trade at Bantam, the Peppercorn left for Teco, August 6, 1612, having been preceded by the Darling. Middleton decided to proceed to Bantam in the Peppercorn, leaving Captain Downton in charge of the Trades Increase. The pepper trade was extremely dull at this period the vessels having only 80 tons on board. Between October 16th and 17th, 110 bahars of pepper were purchased at an average cost of 20 rials a bahar.<sup>1</sup> The Peppercorn now completed her cargo, Captain Downton assuming command. He reached Waterford, being unable to beat up the Downs, with a crew reduced from forty-six to twenty-six.<sup>2</sup>

Misfortune pursued the remaining short career of Middleton and his ship. The Trades Increase ran aground while leaving Teco. She was successfully floated, but developed a dangerous leak. At Bantam the vessel was careened and the operation of sheathing begun. The cost per day amounted to 500 rials. The mortality among the native workers soon totalled over five hundred. A treacherous worker fired the vessel, reducing her to a useless hulk, that was sold for 1050 rials.<sup>3</sup> Middleton, bowed down by grief and sickness, did not long survive his ship, succumbing to fever, May 24, 1613.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this loss the profit was £ 121, 13 sh., 4 d. on every £100 subscribed.

A seventh voyage was sent out in 1611. A single ship, the Globe, composed the venture for this year. Captain Hippon was ordered to attempt the opening of trade with the Coromandel coast. This decision was the only method by which the spice trade could

<sup>1</sup>Voyages of Lancaster. p.211.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.224.

<sup>3</sup>Journal of John Jourdain. p.301.

<sup>4</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.89.

be kept up. The inhabitants of the Spice islands refused English woolens, but demanded Indian cloths. The goods were manufactured in great abundance along the Coronandel coast. These commodities were readily received in exchange for spices, pepper, mace, nutmegs, etc.

The intention was to open up this trade.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose a sum of 15,364 was raised. The guiding spirits of the enterprise were two former Dutch East India merchants, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheumes. It was provided that "the competent stocke of 12,000 li, whereof 1,500 li is to be put into the said stocke by the foresaid Peter Floris and Lucas Antheumes for their adventure." These partners gave bonds for £ 2,000 each, paid in £ 600 for their shares at once, and were to bring in the remaining £ 900 during the next June. Their profits were to range from 4 percent were the returns as high as 100 percent, to 10 percent were the profits 400 percent.<sup>2</sup>

No trade could be obtained at Pulicat for the Dutch were hostile. Pettopoli was next visited, August 18, 1611. A friendly welcome was extended by the King of Galconda. This marks the first footing gained on the Coronandel coast. Masulipatam was visited on August 31; a cargo of calicoes was obtained, although the unfriendly attitude of the governor precluded all hope of founding a factory.<sup>3</sup> A cargo of spieces, and cloves was obtained in Bantam and Siam in exchange for the Indian cloths. The Globe returned to England in 1615, clearing a profit of 218 percent.

<sup>1</sup> Ledger and Sword. p.86.

<sup>2</sup> First Letter Book. p.364-5.

<sup>3</sup> Macpherson. European Commerce. p.89.



Captain John Saris commanded the ships Hector, Thomas, and Clove of the eighth voyage. This expedition was sent out in 1611. The unique fact about the instructions received by John Saris was the order to proceed to Japan and investigate the possibilities of opening trade with the Silver Isles. As an alternative destination the Philippine islands were to be visited and the prospects considered.<sup>1</sup> To insure Saris against the repetition of the outrages perpetrated on Middleton, a pass was obtained from the Great Segnor (Sultan) dated "on the finetenth day of the Moone Zilkigie 1 ol9," 11 Feb. 18, 1611.<sup>2</sup> Surat was designated as "the maine and principall scope of this our voyadge." The instructions ordered Saris to sell the cargo of cloth, tin, iron, lead, quicksilver for money or "gould." In return he was instructed to buy mace, nutmegs, etc., at Surat, but refrain from the purchase of other goods while the prices were so excessive.<sup>3</sup> The Banda islands and Moluccos were to supply the remainder of the cargoes of spices. While at Surat suitable Indian calicoes were to be laid in, especially those best suited for Priaman, Bantam, the Banda and Moluccas islands. Rice, which was very cheap at Macassar, was to be carried to the Banda islands where the heavy demand insured a profit of 300 percent.<sup>4</sup>

As has been indicated, Saris met Middleton in the Red Sea. This union of the two fleets was the cause of much bad feeling, for the use of separate voyages tempted each commander to gain the advantage over his rivals, in order to gain a larger profit for his particular voyage. May 23, the Thomas was dispatched to Priaman,

<sup>1</sup>First Letter Book. p.402.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.434.

<sup>3</sup>Voyage of John Saris to Japan. xi.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. xii.

followed by the Hector, August 8. Saris himself sailed for Bantam, August 13, arriving there October 24. A factory was left at Bantam under direction of George Camden. He was to provide a lading for the Clove against its return from Japan. Saris returned to Bantam after his successful voyage to Japan, loaded pepper, and reached England September, 1614.<sup>1</sup> The total profit was 211 percent on a capital of £ 76,365, divided as follows: ships £ 48,700, bullion £ 17,670, goods £ 10,000.<sup>2</sup>

A ninth voyage was dispatched in 1612, consisting of the solitary ship James, detached from the tenth voyage. Edmund Marlowe was placed in command of this venture. The total outlay amounted to £ 7,200, bullion £ 1,250, goods £ 650, and the ship £ 5,300. A profit of £ 160 was returned on every £ 100 invested in the venture.<sup>3</sup>

A very important voyage was the tenth under the command of Captain Best. The fleet was composed of the Hoseander, Solomon, and Red Dragon. The specific purpose of the expedition was the founding of a permanent factory at Surat. This had been the goal of the Company since the failure of Hawkins' voyage in 1608. With this purpose in view, Captain Best arrived off Surat in September, 1612. The James or Solomon was detached and dispatched to Bantam.<sup>4</sup> It thus became known as the ninth voyage.

Unlike the treatment accorded to Middleton, Captain Best was hospitably received. He proceeded to land some goods and begin trade. Although undisturbed by the Magul authorities, Best was attacked by a strong Portuguese flotilla. This fleet of four gallions

<sup>1</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.90.

<sup>2</sup>Annals of the East India Company. p.161.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.162.

<sup>4</sup>Letters, l. p.197.



numerous frigates, mounting a total of 124 guns, swooped down upon the Hoseander and Red Dragon. A stubborn and well contested fight occurred, resulting in the defeat of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

During these trying times the mission had not been neglected. A factor, Thomas Kerridge, had been ordered to Agra with the petition asking the Mogul for a firman. As usual, business around the Mogul court was carried on in a very dilatory manner. The news of Captain Best's victory was very acceptable at Court, the reason being the state of hostilities existing between the Portuguese and the Great Mogul. Continual delays and repeated harassing attacks by the Portuguese quite wore out Captain Best. He had decided to weigh anchor and leave, having gone so far as to order all goods on board. Thomas Aldworth, the factor at Surat, refused to comply, so sure did he feel over the outcome of Kerridge's mission. Finally as all hope had been abandoned the long sought for firman arrived, January 25, 1613.<sup>2</sup>

January 25, 1613, is a landmark in the history of the East India Company. From this day the Company received its first legal right to found a factory in India. The firman provided for perpetual peace, the levy of a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent ad valorem duty, and the right of the Company to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul.<sup>3</sup>

It is from this date that the phenomenal expansion of British factories throughout the northern part of India can be traced. Once having gained a foothold, the obvious act was to re-

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.95-96.

<sup>2</sup>Etude sur les Differentes Chartes. p.19.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 19.

tain what had been won and also prepare for a further advance. William Edwards was dispatched with gifts for the Emperor Jehangir. Pictures of James, the Queen, and a hypothetical likeness of Timur, The Lane, an ancestor of Jehangir, were the most conspicuous among the presents.<sup>1</sup> Edwards remained in Agra as the representative of the Company, pending the arrival of the officially accredited ambassador.

Presents for the Mogul as requested by the factors include such articles as, gloves, caps, purses, curious pictures, knives, clocks, silk stockings for the harem inmates, swords, armour, mastiffs, greyhounds, spaniels, and pictures, especially those of France, Germany, and Flanders.<sup>2</sup> This indicates that it was not worth but novelty that attracted the attention of the Great Mogul. The same applied to the more substantial goods intended for the lower classes. We find that cloth was selling at 20 mamudies per cove-do, northern cloth at 6 mamudies, lead at 7 mamudies per pound, mercury and quicksilver at 300 mamudies per pound, but iron had sunk as low as 3½ mamudies per pound.<sup>3</sup> January 14, all such goods as cloth, mercury, vermillion, ivory, and 1200 bars of lead were landed from the vessels. These commodities together with bullion to the value of 4000 li were left at Surat to provide the basis for a profitable trade. At the same time 3500 li were invested in goods, such as calicoes, etc. suitable for Achin and Priaman.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Aldworth, William Biddulph, and Nicholas Withington

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.99.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.98.

<sup>3</sup>Letters, 1, p.235.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. 1. p.237.



were left at Surat in charge of the factory. Best sailed for the Spice islands, for cargoes of spices, pepper, etc. The Surat factors estimated that the Indian trade would yearly absorb 1000 broad cloths, 500 Devon kerseys, 10,000 (lbs.?) mercury, 1,000 (lbs.) of vermilion, and yield a profit of 300 percent. Ivory was selling at 12 to 13 li per kintal, lead for which there was a demand of between 80 to 100 tons, at 7 to 8 mamudies per pound, or 22 to 23 li per ton. Iron was a drug on the market and would not sell. The goods suitable for England were indigo, calicoes, cotton yarn. These goods were expected to bring a profit of 300 percent in England.<sup>1</sup>

A letter written by Samuel Bradshaw to the factors at Bantam, February 10, 1612, gives us an insight into the prices in the Spice islands. Bradshaw indicates that 11,000 li worth of Guzerat cloths had been sold at a price of 19 li a cloth, or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  rials a yard. Lead sold for 20 rials a bahar. Bradshaw bewails the fact that he had not more cassia cloth of Bengal, Cambaya, or Masulipatan. This is not to be wondered at when it is known that cloth costing but  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a rial in India sold for four times as much in Priaman.<sup>2</sup> Captain Best, writing under the date of July 2, 1613, from Achin, to Aldworth at Surat, that iron was selling at 5 tael the bahar of 385 pounds. The tael was at this time worth 16 masse or mamundies. Benjamin was selling at 25 tael the bahar. Best also places a request for white calicoes from Broach, worth from 30 to 70 mamundies per cloth.<sup>3</sup>

Goods for England also present an interesting sight. Ralph Willsomm, writing to the East India Company September 11, 1613, gives a list of the commodities that went to make up the cargo of the

<sup>1</sup>Letters, 1. p.239.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.254.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.256.

Solomon. At Bantam 140 sacks cloves, 140 bales mace , 7 peculs nuts, 263 bags of Priaman pepper, 5994 bags of Bantam pepper, 31 bales of indigo, and 20 bales of calicoes, were stowed in the hold.<sup>1</sup>

The eleventh voyage made a profit of 340 percent. This was a phenomenal profit for even those times. The reason was that the James was sent out for the sole purpose of bringing back the surplus stock of the third and fifth voyages. The twelfth voyage was intended mainly to carry Sir Robert Shirley, the Persian ambassador, back to Persia. Captain Newport, in command of the expedition, landed Shirley at Diu. The expedition then proceeded to Bantam for a cargo. The vessel had returned to England by July, 1614. The cost was £ 7,142, bullion £ 1250, goods £ 650, and the profit £ 133, 18 sh., 4 d., on every £ 100.<sup>2</sup>

The outstanding features in this period are the founding of a factory in Japan, the gaining of a foothold in India. This foothold at Surat guaranteed mutual support against the Portuguese, for both the Mogul and English were hostile to the Viceroy at Goa. The absence of Dutch competition in India was a great benefit to the Company.

Statistically we may sum up the twelve voyages in the following manner:

<sup>1</sup>Letters, 1. p.289.

<sup>2</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.91.



Capital 464,284.

Merchandise	62,411	An average of	5,201
Bullion	138,127	An average of	11,510
Shipping, etc.	<u>263,746</u>	An average of	<u>21,979</u>
Total	464,284		38,690

The average profit was 138 percent, but when it is considered that the voyages lasted from three to four years, that the Company sold the cargoes on long credits of from eighteen months to two years, we see that the profit was under 20 percent per annum. It must not be forgotten that at this time the legal rate of interest was eight percent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.92.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE FIRST JOINT STOCK, 1613-1617

The year 1613 was a momentous one for the Company, not only in India, but also at home. This year sees the introduction of a new system of organization as applied to the dispatch of ships, keeping of accounts. We see the old inefficient policy of sending yearly ships, each return being sedulously set off from its predecessor, finally abolished. The duplication of factors, recall of the factors of previous voyages, resulting in the continuance of their pay throughout the long voyage when work was impossible, was finally dispensed with upon the adoption of the joint stock principle.

A joint stock idea was inaugurated in 1613. Under the plans for the future, the venture was to last for four years. The subscription was to be paid in four yearly installments. The total subscription amounted to £ 418,691<sup>1</sup>. The average interest gained on the capital was 87½ percent. <sup>2</sup> So successful were the operations of the Company that in 1617, the stock was at a premium of 203 percent.<sup>3</sup> The operations of this joint stock was brought to an end in 1621 when the remainder of the stock and goods on hand were sold to the second joint stock.<sup>4</sup> The following statistical data may prove of help:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.93.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.97.

<sup>3</sup>Etude sur les differentes Chartes. p.25.

<sup>4</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.97.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.93.



Date	Capital	Bullion	Goods	Cost of Ships	Ships
1613	106,000	18,810	12,446	- - - -	5
1614	107,000	13,942	23,000	272,544	9
1615	107,000	26,660	26,000	- - - -	8
<u>1617</u>	<u>109,000</u>	<u>52,087</u>	<u>16,506</u>	<u>- - - -</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	429,000	111,499	78,017	272,544	29

It was under these new regulations that Thomas Downton sailed March, 1613. The flotilla comprised the New Year's Gift, Merchant Hope, Hector. Surat was sighted October 25, 1614. Almost immediately the Portuguese renewed their warlike operations. A conflict took place between the two naval forces, resulting in an English victory.<sup>1</sup> A week later Downton set sail for Bantam. Here a cargo of mace, spices, silk, and porcelain was purchased. At the same time six factors were dispatched to Masuliptam with orders to settle a factory.<sup>2</sup> The profits from this voyage were eminently satisfactory. The example of the Globe will suffice to show the trend of returns. The cargo of the Globe cost 40,000 rials in India, or about £ 8,000 and sold in England for £ 80,000.<sup>3</sup>

It will be remembered that the firman of 1613, granted the Company the right to send an ambassador to Agra. In accordance with this phirmaund the Governor and General Court decided to send out an ambassador in 1615. Sir Thomas Roe was selected, and accepted the position. The fleet under command of Captain Keeling sailed from England January, 1615. This voyage is interesting from the fact that the first English settlement (convict) was planted at the

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword. p.133.

<sup>2</sup>Macpherson. European Commerce. p.93.

<sup>3</sup>Annals of the East India Company. p.167.

Cape, ten criminals being landed on the Cape.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of 1615, and early in 1616, the English possessed factories at Bantam, Batavia, Achin, Jamber, Tecoa, in the Banda islands, at Benjarmassing, Socodania in Borneo, Firardo in Japan, Surat, Amadavad, Agra, Ajmere, Brampore, Calicut, Masulipatam, Pettapole, a factory in Siam and also at Patani, Macassar, and one in the Moluccas, and on the island of Celebes.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this joint stock we may restrict the field to those factories situated in the domains of the Great Mogul.

Surat was the city of chief English activities in India. The factory was in charge of Thomas Aldworth. Indian goods acceptable for the European markets were baftas, cotton yarn. These commodities could be bought cheaper in Broach and Baroda than in Surat. Indigo was the chief product of Ahmadabad, but in order to establish such a trade a capital of from £ 12,000 to £ 15,000 was required to be constantly in the hands of the factor. Presents for the Court were entrusted to factor William Edwards. The chief articles of this consignment were cloth, pictures, glasses, sword blades, and for the first time wine, aqua vital (whiskey) and other alcoholic drinks for the unscrupulous monarch who was but a nominal follower of the prophet.<sup>3</sup> The Company's representative at the Court, which had now been transferred to Ajmere, was chief factor Kerridge. He informs us that Ajmere offers a market for curved sword blades, light colored broad cloths, ivory, lead, coral, vermilion, and pearls. The

<sup>1</sup> On the return voyage the three survivors were rescued, taken to England, and, after committing a theft, were executed.

<sup>2</sup> Macpherson. European Commerce. p.96.

<sup>3</sup> Annals of the East India Company. p. 171.



market for muscovy hides and tin was uncertain and their sale but sporadic.<sup>1</sup>

At this point it would perhaps prove instructive to see the articles composing a typical cargo for England. I have confined the entries to Indian cloths, since previous references have been made to other Eastern goods. A council of factors met November 4, 1615, in Swally road and decided upon the following cloths. The number decided upon was 12,500, of the following sorts:<sup>2</sup>

4,000	baftas	at 3 sh.	per piece	Cost	£.600
2,000	"	" 4 sh.	" " "	"	400
2,000	Semians	" 6 sh.	" " "	"	600
2,000	"	" 8 sh.	" " "	"	800
1,000	Colored Semians	" 18 sh.	" " "	"	75
1,000	Chintz	" 2 sh.6d.	" " "	"	125
250	Shashes	" 5 sh.	" " "	"	62, 10 sh.
100	"	" 8 sh.	" " "	"	40
75	"	" 10 sh.	" " "	"	37, 10 sh.
50	"	" 15 sh.	" " "	"	37, 10 sh.
25	"	" 20 sh.	" " "	"	25, 10 sh.

The cargo of the New Year's Gift appears an example of a typical cargo:

<sup>1</sup>Letters, II. xix.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.135.

Gumback 25 tons	800 (rials?)
Indigo cerquez (Starkey) 70 tons	10,000
Green ginger 3 tons	100
Opium 2 tons	100
Carpets	500
Cotton yarn	500
Calicoes of all sorts 15 tons	<u>2,800</u>
Total	14,802 <sup>1</sup>

English cloth was not in great demand and even what was bought by the natives was usually put to some other use than that of clothing. William Biddulp writing from Surat, August 19, 1614, tells us that cloth was selling at 20 to 22 mamudies per covedo. The use made of this cloth was "to cover their elephants and to make some saddles for their horses, but for garments they use none in these parts, neither in rainy nor cold weather." Paul Canning, at Agra, backs up this statement and states that the Agra market would hardly dispose of 300 cloths in a year.<sup>2</sup> Muhurrah Khan, the nawab of Surat ordered the following presents for Jehangir; two light suits of armor, crooked swords, knives, red, yellow, green, and tawny satin, red, black, and green velvet, fine broad cloth that would not stain nor run, colored red, yellow, and green. Toys for the king and inmates of the harem, pictures done in cloth of Arras, wrought with pictures, looking glasses, figures of birds and

<sup>1</sup>Letters, II.p.136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p. 97.



beasts in glass, silver, brass, iron, wood, stone, and ivory. Rich cabinets with glass, mastiffs, greyhounds, spaniels, and little dogs, three of each. Large Muscovy hides, velum, and a good store of parchment.<sup>1</sup> In this respect it may be permissible to anticipate future events, and quote Sir Thomas Roe's opinion of the most highly esteemed monarch. Writing on January 25, 1615, he says that the rarity "which they ie Jehangir and his son, would more highly esteem that all the jewels in Cheapside", was red wine." "Never," he continues, "were men more enamored of red wine," than the Mogul and his son. He strongly urged the dispatch of four or five handsome cases of Burdundy.<sup>2</sup> This opinion is corroborated by William Ker-ridge, who used much the same language three years earlier. It is interesting to note that in 1609 Hawkins failed in his mission on account of drunkenness.

It was the purpose of the Company to send Sir Thomas Roe as their ambassador to the Mogul Court. His presence would, so they thought, be instrumental in gaining the good will of the eastern potentate, and also aid in the projected trade with Persia.

English interest in Persia was not of recent occurrence, but dated back to the year 1576. In that year the Shah of Persia had granted to the English merchants protection for their goods and person, and a remission of all taxes and tolls.<sup>3</sup> Shah Abbas had recast this privilege in 1599 so as to include "all Christian people." Sir Anthony Shirley had transmitted a copy of this edict

<sup>1</sup>Letters, II. p.173.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. IV. p.11.

<sup>3</sup>Milburn. Oriental Commerce, I. p.115.

to Lord Salisbury, through his brother Sir Robert Shirley, the Persian ambassador to the Courts of St. James and Madrid.<sup>1</sup> The source of this interest was the silk industry of Persia. Until 1580, this commodity had reached the Levant by way of Aleppo, but in that year war broke out between the Turks and Persians. The continued disturbances which lasted with slight intermissions to 1621, greatly hampered the overland silk trade. It appeared quite practicable to the Company that they might divert this trade permanently and engross it for themselves. Their poor success in gaining entrance to the Chinese and Japanese marts rendered this project more desirable.

With this in view, the Company decided to begin preparations for this venture. They were materially aided, at this juncture, by the information gained by Richard Steele. Steele was a factor of the Levant Company stationed at Alippo. He had followed a recalcitrant debtor through Persia and finally reached Surat in 1614. His personal observations on the possibilities of engaging in trade with Persia impressed the factors at Surat very favorably. They at once decided to dispatch Steele and Crouthers to Ispahan.<sup>2</sup> The enterprise was an entire success. The intrepid merchants reached Ispahan, conversed with Robert Shirley, and were able to get a firman from the Shah. This firman guaranteed a friendly reception and protection for the merchants, and liberty to enter Persian ports.<sup>3</sup> Steele continued his journey overland to Europe; Crouthers retraced his steps to Surat.

Sir Thomas Roe was given the following instructions concerning the Persian trade. He was to find out the duties levied on

<sup>1</sup> Ledger and Sword, 1, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of the East India Company, 1, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1. xlvi.



exports and imports, some commodious and safe haven was to be picked out where goods might be landed and merchandise started; he was to receive some tangible assurance, "that for their silke they will accept at least the one halfe of English comoddityes at reasonable rates, especially cloth at 20 li str pe cloaths or 80 Royales of 8." It appears by this that the expedition was to use English cloth as a means of barter. such a policy was highly desirable. The cloth trade was stagnant in India, and an increase in the export of bullion would have gained the open hostility of important persons in England. The maximum price to be paid for silk was 8 sh., 9 d. per pound, exclusive of all duties and charges of transportation. Chinese silk was bringing 20 shillings a pound in the London market, while the Persiam silk was only expected to fetch 16 shillings per pound.

The new ambassador set sail in the Lion, February 2, 1615. Swally Road was reached September 18, 1615. From this time forward Roe was engaged in defending the Company from extortion and abuse. His first act was to press Muharrah Khan, the rapacious Nawab of Surat, for the restoration of the 17,000 mamudies he had extorted from the Company.<sup>1</sup> With this in view, Roe began his journey to Ajmere, the court of Jehangir. Early in January Roe presented himself at court. He was favorably received, but did not succeed in negotiating a treaty with Jehangir. The best he could accomplish was to receive a firman.<sup>2</sup> Still he was able to compel Muharrah Khan to restore his ill-gotten gains.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, l. p.328.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, l. p.12.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, l. p.329.

Roe was not to be so easily rebuffed. He assiduously applied himself to the task of cultivating the friendship of the Mogul. In this he was eminently successful. Jehangir was much impressed by the presents presented to him and especially with an English coach.<sup>1</sup> Roe himself states that he was permitted to see the Mogul when rajhas and nawabs were refused permission. Under these circumstances Roe was finally able to negotiate a treaty which was signed by both parties, September, 1618. The chief stipulations were as follows: English subjects were given liberty of trade, permission to settle factories in any part of the Mogul dominions, protection from unjust and exorbitant charges for provisions, and transportation. All sales over 16 rials were exempt from arbitrary exactions. The presents for the Mogul were not to be inspected at the port but left intact until presented to the monarch. All other goods were to be evaluated six days after unloading. A single import duty was to be charged, thus freeing the goods from the necessity of paying octroi duties. In like manner export goods were to be charged customs at the port of embarkation. Customs were to be charged at the rate of from 2 - 3½ percent ad valorem. Mutual aid against the Portuguese was also pledged.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this success, affairs were far from bright. Roe writing April 26, 1616, said, " what we bring, but cloth and knives." Roe himself admits that "our cloth will not off in many yeares; here I am persuaded twenty (ii cloths) will not sell," and "our swourdes are worse." He proceeds to say that a new trade must

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword, 1. p.121.

<sup>2</sup>Milburn. Oriental Commerce. xiv.



be found to bolster up the failing venture in India.<sup>1</sup>

Such a field was opened up in Persia, but against Roe's wishes. He had opposed the suggestion of the Persian silk trade from the time of his arrival in India. Had Roe been in Surat, and not a thousand miles away at Ajmere and Agra, it is hard to say what might have been the outcome of his adverse opinion. The contrary view was held by the factors at Surat. They held a council meeting October 2, 1616, and formally resolved to take the necessary steps to inaugurate the venture. This resolution was based on the efficacy of the firman obtained by Steele. Roe held the view that this grant did not bind the Shah to send a stipulated amount of silk to Jashak, for the silk trade was a royal monopoly. Factor Kerridge argued that the cessation of the overland silk trade must have flooded the silk market. Under these circumstances it would be but simple to buy cheap and sell dear.

In support of this view Edward Cannock and Thomas Barker were dispatched to Jashak in the James, November 5, 1616. The James returned to Surat, February, 1617. Roe, when he heard of this move, was extremely angered that his authority should have been disregarded,<sup>2</sup> yet his absence from the seat of action prevented his active participation in the proceedings. Cannock and Barker were successful in their mission. The governor of Jashak granted them a firman permitting them to engage in trade at that port. This welcome news was quickly acted upon by the factors at Surat. A ship was prepared and a cargo of broad cloth, kersies, lead, tin, iron, mercury, vermillion, cutlery, glass, sword blades, and £ 2,000 in bullion stowed

<sup>1</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1. p.165.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.330.

in the hold. Cannock advised the council to dispatch 400 tons pepper, spices, Surat and Guzerat cloth, ginger, sugar, rice, opium, and wax.<sup>1</sup>

At this critical stage Sir Robert Shirley turned against the Company. He submitted a scheme to the Spanish king, whereby the silk monopoly would be engrossed by them. This friendship was to be cemented by an alliance between the powers. Such an event would have ruined the English prospects. Edward Cannock took alarm and made vigorous protests to the Shah and the Council at Surat. Happily Shirley quitted Persia to lay his scheme before the Spanish monarch, Philip III.<sup>2</sup> Roe was now forced to lend his support in backing up the scheme efficiently, although he personally disliked it as much as ever. By the time the Spanish fleet had arrived to take advantage of this alliance the Shah had repented of his decision. At the same time an English fleet prevented all ingress to the port of Jashak.<sup>3</sup>

Besides his political activities, Roe was engaged in extending the scope of English commerce. Writing under the date of November 24, 1616, he lists the following commodities as suitable for gifts and sale at Court. Such articles as table knives, swords, gilt armor, precious stones, cloth of gold, looking glasses, arras, pictures, wine, "strong waters" are unrequested now," dogs, ostrich plumes, silk stuffs, "but no blew; it is the coulor of mourners."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.184.

<sup>2</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1. p.310.

<sup>3</sup>Ledger and Sword, 1. p.137.

<sup>4</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1. p.352.



Indian goods suitable for England consisted of indigo, and several varieties of cloth. Roe protested against the policy of sending heavy, cheap goods to Agra by camel caravan. He rightly held that the transport ate up all the profit. Indian goods were shipped from Agra and other inland cities by the same means. A caravan of 170 camels left Agra Nov. 28, 1616. The cost in wages, custom, hire amounted to 500 li.<sup>1</sup> This long journey prevented lead from competing with the same metal of Indian manufacture.<sup>2</sup>

Roe was much disappointed in his inability to gain permission to trade in Bengal.<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese had the monopoly of trade with this territory. Bengal cloths were in special demand in the Spice islands. The exclusion of the English put them under a heavy disadvantage. The Surat market was surfeited with English goods. An outlet in Bengal would have relieved this condition. The fall in the value of English goods may be judged when it is known that knives, selling at ten rupees ie 2. 5 sh., now brought but six mamudies.

In spite of Roe's gloomy forbodings with regard to Persia, the trade proved profitable. Spices, sugar, cloth, steel, etc., were in ready demand. As a contrast, the Surat market would barely dispose of 200 broadcloths, 10 stammetts, but large amounts of Levantine corral, 1,000 li of murcury, a small amount of vermilion,<sup>4</sup> wine, hats, watches, swords, knives, pearls, rubies, cat's eyes,

<sup>1</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, l. p.355.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, l. p.447.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, l. p.478.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, l. p.485.

emeralds. agates, etc., to the value of 800,000 yearly. It will be observed that Roe is advocating the policy that had long been observed by the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup>

Roe's mission was now accomplished. He accordingly embarked for England, February 17, 1619. His arrival in London, followed by an audience with James I, concluded his mission. The effect of his energetic and solicitous concern for the Company's progress was very noticeable. He greatly impressed Jehangir, and also the prince Shah Jehan. Roe's chaplain Terey speaks of him as "a Joseph in the Court of Pharaoh."

<sup>1</sup>Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1. p.485.



## CHAPTER V

## THE FACTORY IN JAPAN, FROM ITS FOUNDATION

BY JOHN SARIS TO ITS REMOVAL IN 1623

The Clove, commanded by Captain John Saris, was the first English vessel to reach Japan. This vessel was detached from the eighth voyage and ordered to proceed to Japan, there to open trade and establish a factory. Had it not been for the glowing account given of Japan, its trade and richness, by William Adams, an Englishman in the employ of the Emperor, such a voyage would probably have never been considered.

William Adams had been chief pilot of a Dutch squadron dispatched, in 1598, by way of the Straits of Magellan, to Japan.<sup>1</sup> Disaster overtook the fleet, but one ship, the Charity, reaching Japan. The ship wrecked crew were seized and placed under surveillance in the year 1600. Five years later two Dutch sailors, Van Santvoort and Quackernecq, managed to escape and reach Holland.<sup>2</sup> Through these two men the wife of William Adams was informed of his existence and residence in Japan. By this time Adams had become a favorite at the Japanese court, where his influence was very considerable.

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, 1. p.111.

<sup>2</sup>Voyage of Captain John Saris. v.

Dutch traders received permission to settle and trade in Japan, in the year 1609. Two years later the grant was renewed.<sup>1</sup> Adams sent a letter, through these Dutch merchants, to the English factory at Bantam, where it arrived in 1612. By January 12, 1613, Adams was in communication with his wife in England, for he mentions having received a letter from her, and also Governor Smith and John Stakle.<sup>2</sup> Through Adams, the Company received much information concerning Japan. His influence with the emperor was taken by the Comapny as a sign that their request for the privileges would be favorably viewed.

Acting upon this assumption, a commission was issued to John Saris to, "search out the most convenient and safest harbour to trade in, where you may sell cloth, lead, Iron, and such other of our native comodities," and "to consult and take good advise with the rest of the Factors (ie Richard Cocks) and espetiallie with William Adams, an Englishman nowe resident there, and in great favor with the king (ie Iyeyasu) as we heare."<sup>3</sup> In accordance with these instructions the Clove began her voyage to Japan, January 15, 1613, from the port of Bantam. The "Silver Islands" were sighted June 12, 1613, the Clove anchoring in the harbor of Firando.<sup>4</sup>

As usual the first act was to resort to the court and gain an audience with the ruler. In accordance with this custom the presents were sent through the inland sea to Osaka. Here they were transhipped and taken by native sampans to Fushimi, then by carrier to Sumpu. An audience was granted two days after arrival at

<sup>1</sup> Ledger and Sword, 1. p.107.

<sup>2</sup> Voyage of Captain John Saris. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xii.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p.xxv.



the court. The Shogun Hidetoda, and the ex-Shogun Iyeyasu were very favorable to the request for trading rights. The grant as finally issued contained six important clauses. The merchants were given a perpetual right to visit, abide, sell and barter in, tarry and depart at will from the confines of the Shogunate. No custom duties were to be levied; the merchants were not placed under the necessity of bringing their goods to Court before sales could be made. All the subjects of the Shogun were commanded to give aid and comfort to the English merchants and any of their ships that might be in distress. The private property of factors and sailors was not to be seized in case of their death. All goods once sold could not be returned by the buyer on the plea of dissatisfaction. The goods bought by the Court were to be paid for at the prevailing market values.<sup>1</sup>

With these liberal privileges, Saris left for Yedo; on the 17th he presented the gifts brought for this purpose, to the Shogun Hidetoda. He then visited Adams at his estate at Uraga, overlooking the Bay of Yedo. Adams was in favor of establishing the factory on Yedo Bay, but Saris objected as the town was "not so well replenished with victuals and flesh-meat," as Eirando.<sup>2</sup> Adams was engaged to act as a factor, with a salary of £ 100 a year. Eight Englishmen, Richard Cocks, the chief factor, Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Corwarden, Edward Saris, and William Nelson were left behind in charge of the factory. Her mission over, and her cargo of broad cloth, woollens, cotton piece goods, pepper,

<sup>1</sup>Letters, 1. p.297-8.

<sup>2</sup>Voyage of Captain John Saris. liii.

gunpowder, lead, tin, to the total of £ 6,500 discharged,<sup>1</sup> the Clove sailed from Mirando, December 5, arrived at Bantam, January 3, 1614 and in England, September 27, 1615.<sup>2</sup>

Goods suitable for the Japanese trade were broad cloth, bayes, lead, galley pots, writing tables, refined camphor, ivory, Holland cloth, cambrick, lawn, Seccer cloth, "pictures of warres," steel in gods, skins (from Siam), sandalwood, raw silk from Canton and Lambkin (ie Manking)<sup>3</sup>. Cloth costing 14 li per cloth, sold in Japan at 4 li per two Flemish ells. The sandalwood and skins from Siam brought in ready money. Pepper from Bantam, usually made a return of from 100 - 200 percent on the investment. The prohibition preventing the export of the coinage was cleverly circumvented. The currency was refined and exported as bullion to Siam, where sandalwood and skins were bought for the Japanese market.<sup>4</sup>

From the records of a general court called March 17, 1615, for the sale of goods brought from Japan we gain the following information. A "Skrene guilded and painted with some resemblance of warfare," was bought by Sir Thomas Smith for 6 li, two other pictures "full of horses" sold for 14 li, 13 sh., 4 li, 11 sh. Eight more pictures were sold for a total of 53 li. 2 sh. 4 d. This shows that at least theartistic works of the Japanese were in request and highly appreciated. The records concerning other Japanese goods sent to England are meager indeed. Beside a few mentions of silk, the records are surprisingly reticent. This fact may be ex-

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, l. xvii.

<sup>2</sup>Voyage of Captain John Saris. lvi.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. lxxi.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. lxiii.



plained by the words of the preface to the Diary of Richard Cocks. On page iii, we read that "only those enteries which have absolutely no interest, ii memoranda of sales and purchases, ladings of vessels, etc., have been omitted."<sup>1</sup> Such an omission has deprived me of much valuable and necessary material. The only documents printed in this volume have to deal with the gifts of English commodities to the Japanese court. This leaves the information concerning Japanese goods fragmentary and unsatisfactory.

Unsifted Bantam pepper, costing 1 3/4 rials of eight per sack, sold in Japan for 10 Tayes the pecul.<sup>2</sup> Tin sold for 30 tayes the pecul, ivory 80 tayes, iron 6 tayes, powder 23 tayes, aloes 6 tayes, fowling pieces 20 tayes. Coromondel, Guzerat, and other Indian cloths, including calicoes, were well requested, and sold according to their texture,<sup>3</sup> While eastern goods found a ready market, all hope of disposing of English cloth was soon dissipated. At one time such cloth had sold at 40 rials per matre ie 2.087 yds. It was soon found that the "natives were now more backward to buy than before, because they saw that we ourselves were no forwarder in wearing the thing which we recommend unto them. For said they you commend your cloth unto us, but you your selves were least thereof, the better sort of you wearing silken garments, the meaner Functions." The demand for English cloth thus suffered a severe slump. Cocks repeatedly states that the only use to which English cloth was put was in the making cases for arms. He finds a grim satisfaction in the rumors of impending civil war, for such an event

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, l. p.iii.

<sup>2</sup>Note: 1 Rail = 3 sh. 6 d. Sack = 62 lbs. 1 toye = 5 sh.

<sup>3</sup>Voyage of Captain John Saris. p.97 and 132.

would at once cause a boom in the cloth market.

In accordance with the wishes of John Saris, the English factory was stationed at Firando. The Dutch and Portuguese were already firmly established at this town. The addition of a new nation increased commercial competition, and resulted in many brawls between the sailors of the respective nationalities.

Richard Cocks, the Cape merchant, became early convinced that trade in Japan would prove unprofitable. He looked upon Japan as a base from which to gain admittance to China. With this in mind, he hired Andrea Dittis, the China Captain, as he calls him, "to labour to get us entrance into China."<sup>1</sup> He also makes the suggestion that trade might be got from Tushima, into Corea. Such an enterprise came to nothing, since Corea was not subject to Japan.<sup>2</sup> Ralph Copperdale, writing from Firando, December 5, 1615, to Adam Denton and Robert Larkin, says, "sales soe base and slacke that nothings is here to be expected but losse, except a trade be procured into China, the raw silks of which country are alwaies here reddy mong and reasonable profitt."<sup>3</sup> January 1, 1616, Cocks writes to the East India Company "were it not for the hope of trade into China, or for procuring some benefit from Syam, Pattania, and (it may be) from Cochinoa trade, it were noe staying in Japan."<sup>4</sup>

The scheme whereby trade might be gained with China, never quite lost its attraction for Richard Cocks. As late as September 30, 1621, he writes to the East India Company, informing them of the plan which he had previously suggested to the President and

<sup>1</sup> Diary of Richard Cocks, 2. p.287.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 2. p.270.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 2. p.271.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 2. p.288.



Council of Defence at Jaccatra. It appears that the Chinese Emperor was displeased with the Portuguese merchants residing at Anacon (Macao), and wished to be rid of them. Unfortunately he died before carrying his wish into effect. His successor was but a lad of fifteen. Cocks suggested that an attack on the Portuguese would be successful, while not much trouble would be experienced in dealing with any possible Chinese resistance.<sup>1</sup> That such a scheme was not without foundation, is seen from the fact that the Dutch employed this line of conduct. They dispatched a squadron of from fourteen to fifteen sail to attack Macao. The Chinese officials became thoroughly alarmed, forgot their quarrel with the Portuguese to such an extent as to permit them to erect fortifications. The consequence was that the Dutch armament suffered a severe repulse, losing four ships, and a casualty list of from 300 - 500 sailors.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of these early pessimistic forebodings, much may be learned, as to the cause of the failure of the factory, through a diligent study of the business management. Firando was the apex of the English activity. The docks, storehouses, factory, were all built in this town. From here goods were dispatched, in charge of subordinate factors, to distant towns where trade was likely to exist. Goods were even sent to Siam, and commodities suitable for the Japanese trade imported from the same country.

From time to time, English ships visited the port, unloading goods intended for the Japanese trade, and receiving on board goods intended for England. The Hoseander was one of the first ships to arrive. She loaded a cargo of 218 sacks of pepper, and 18 saws

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, 2. p.327.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 2. p.332.

of lead, or 4,250 pounds.<sup>1</sup> The bark Jaccatra arrived, July 15, 1616. Her cargo consisted of seven packs of broad cloth, Russia hides, one case gild leather, eight chests of gallipots, one chest of jugs, two chests of glass bottles, two cases of furs, one box of calico, one box of corral, one box of amber, and one trunk of falconry equipment.<sup>2</sup> A letter brought by the Jaccatra, informed Cocks that the junk Sea Adventure has successfully reached Pattania, Siam. This vessel was a junk engaged by Cocks to carry on a trade between Siam and Japan. Several voyages were made by William Adams and Andrea Dittis, as masters of this junk. The present voyage had been undertaken at the request of the king of Siam. That monarch had requested some iron, and in compliance with his wish, Cocks had dispatched the Sea Advanture to Siam.<sup>3</sup> The trade with Siam seems to have been profitable for the Sea Adventure made a return trip to Siam in December, 1616, and again during March, 1617. This latter time Edward Sayer was in command. The cargo consisted mainly of cloth, bayes, Cambaia cloth, Russia hides, steel goods, fowling pieces, ivory, copper, books, looking glasses, knives, and gallipots. the value of the cargo, including the bullion shipped out, was 1856 ta., 3 ma., 8 295/5202 con.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime the ships Thomas and Advice had anchored off Firardo, December 25, 1616. Upon the return of the Advice, February 18, 1618, five chests of money were sent aboard. This refined plate was 9063 tais, would exchange at about 10,920 tais, 7 masse, 8½condrins.<sup>5</sup> English goods that were imported were distributed by the subordinate factors among the surrounding cities.

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, 1. p.56-and 60.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 1. p.152.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 1. p.213.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 1. p.243-244.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 2. p.15.



Mr. Eaton represented the Company in Osekay. Cocks sent him 100 bags of pepper, 65 bales of wax, and 40 saws of lead, to dispose of. the total value of these goods was 1846 ta., 3 ma., 1 1/3 con. January 15, 1616, Mr. Eaton had proceeded to Edo, where he was likewise engaged in disposing of his wares.<sup>1</sup>

Captains Pring and Lennis, in command of the James Royal and Bull, reached Firando, December 6, 1620. They had left England in 1617, reached Bantam in 1618. At Jaccatra they had met Captain Dale with a fleet of six vessels. The outbreak of hostilities with the Dutch had forced the irresolute Captain to retreat to India. Relief was brought to both parties by the news of an agreement reached by the Companies in 1619. The cessation of hostilities now permitted Pring to proceed to Japan.<sup>2</sup> The ill feelings engendered by past acts broke out in 1621. January 1, there were nine Dutch and English ships in Firando harbor. Frequent forays occurred between the sailors, resulting in the injury of several. At the same time the Dutch ruined all English hope of gaining an entry to China. The semi-piratical Hollanders plundered five Chines junks, and placed the odium on the English.

During July, the Peppercorn landed 20,000 rials of eight.<sup>3</sup> At this time the Moon, Palsgrave, Elizabeth, and Bull were at Firando, while the Dutch ships included the Bantam, Trow, Haarlan, Hope,<sup>4</sup> Previous to this the Dutch had captured the Swan, Attendance, Samson, and Hound. In the engagement Captain John Jourdain had been killed. Many English prisoners were held on board these Dutch ships. Sever-

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, 1. p.100.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 1. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 2. pp.175 and 179.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 2. p.223.

al escaped and reached Cocks. He purchased a junk of 50 tons, the Goodspeed, and provisioned her for the voyage to Bantam. These escaped prisoners were placed on board and given orders to rejoin the English fleet.<sup>1</sup>

The constant bickerings with the Dutch, the slackness of trade, and lack of all hope of gaining admittance to China, all culminated in the decision to abandon the factory. The Company had also been unable to regain any of their loss incurred in a voyage to Siam in 1614. Tempest Peacock and Walter Corwarden had made the voyage with a cargo valued at 1,000 rials. One had been murdered, the other drowned, and the cargo confiscated. All Attempts to secure compensation from the king had failed. His unfriendliness hampered all future trade with Siam.

Under these trying conditions, the Council of Defence at Batavia decided, May 22, 1623, to withdraw the factory. The Bull was dispatched to Japan, to bring away all surplus goods and remove the factors. Adams was ordered to close the factory, collect debts, and wind up affairs. He was accused of sloth, negligence, and extravagance. With reluctance, Adams obeyed these injunctions, for both he and the factors had won warm friends among the Japanese. A Japanese was left to collect all unpaid debts, and loans. Thus, after ten years of toil and trouble, the project that had absorbed £ 40,000 and yielded but little profit was brought to a close. Twice, in the future, did the Company project the resumption of traffic, but circumstances in Japan were not favorable. September 7, 1623, the last English cargo, amounting to 70,342 ta., 8 ma., 9 con., left Japan in the Bull.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Diary of Richard Cocks, 2. p.223. <sup>2</sup>Ibid,2. p.268. <sup>3</sup>Ibid,p.337.



## CHAPTER VI

## THE SECOND JOINT STOCK, 1617-1625

The first joint stock came to an end in 1617, to be followed by the second joint stock. As previously stated, the period during which the joint stock was to operate was limited to four years. In spite of this time limit, unforeseen events in India greatly lengthened the existence of this venture. Ceaseless warfare with the Portuguese, constant trouble with the Dutch, and irritating acts by native princes, prevented the speedy return of the ships sent out to India. These delays prevented the concern being brought to a close until 1631. In 1632 a new joint stock was floated,<sup>1</sup> but the title of this work limits the period to that between 1599 and 1625. Such an omission has not as important a bearing on the subject as might be thought. By 1625 the greater part of the ships sent out by the second joint stock had gained their destinations, loaded cargoes, and returned to England.<sup>2</sup>

Subscriptions for the new venture totalled 1,629,000.<sup>3</sup> The expanding activities of the Company, their increasing volume of trade, and consistently high profits, had instilled much confidence into the prospective investors. Superior business organization, as is represented by the advance from yearly, unrelated, and often unfriendly, voyages to the more permanent four-year term, may have also influenced the merchant class. Among the persons whose names

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.306.

<sup>2</sup>Oriental Commerce. Milburn, 1. p.xxii.

<sup>3</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.194.

were entered on the subscription list, we find fifteen Dukes and Earls, 82 knights, two judges of the King's Council, five Privy Councillors, thirteen Countesses and ladies, 26 Doctors of Divinity and Physics, 313 merchants and 214 tradesmen, or a total all told of 954 persons.<sup>1</sup>

Preparations were at once begun for the next four years. For the years 1617-18, and 1618-19, the probable number of ships to be sent were put at nine and eight respectively. The cost of the first nine ships was estimated at £ 200,000; the total for the next eight ships was identical with this first figure. Between the years 1619-20, eight ships were to be dispatched, costing £ 400,000, thus bringing the charges for the 25 ships to £ 800,000. The cargoes would absorb about £ 298,000 more, while the goods intended for the Indian market would require an expenditure of £ 152,000. Repairs on the fleet, purchase of equipment, wages, etc, would require an additional £ 350,000.<sup>2</sup> From this estimate it can be seen that the expectation was that all ships would be back in England by 1624, or 1625 at the latest. This is based on the observed fact that an outward voyage, lading, and return required approximately three years.

At this time the English factories in India numbered five, Agra, Surat, Broach, Burhanpur, and Ahmadabad.<sup>3</sup> All these were in the territory of the Great Mogul. Our interest will mainly center about these factories, for here it is that we may observe the growth of the Indian trade. The conditions favoring this growth was the relative absence of Dutch competition and the decayed state of Por-

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.194.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 1. p.194.

<sup>3</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. V.



tuguese power. In the Spice islands the English trade was in an anaemic condition. The Company was unable to successfully combat the growing power of the Dutch. It is true that the English had seized the islands of Polaroön and Rosengin in 1617,<sup>1</sup> but the Dutch ejected them in 1620,<sup>2</sup> at the same time taking possession of the Swan and Defence. By 1622-23 the Dutch had finally engrossed the Spice trade, remaining undisputed masters until they were ejected by the British in 1793.<sup>3</sup>

Circumstances such as these clearly point to the importance of the trade at Surat. In 1618 the chief factor at Surat, Thomas Kerridge was called President,<sup>4</sup> the factors associated with him being termed the Council. The same terminology was applied to the factors at Bantam, or Batavia. This fact has left its imprint on India to this day -- the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay bearing witness to this custom. The President at Surat had complete control over all factors and stations on the West Coast of India, Persia, and Arabia. The President at Batavia exercised his authority over the Coromandel Coast, and the Spice islands, also including the factory at Firando, Japan. Thus the trade to the East was divided into two distinct divisions. The records of the factory at Batavia have not been printed, while the interest in Indian affairs has lead to the publication of the letters emanating from India;<sup>5</sup> this fact must confine the major portion of this chapter to a discussion of the factories on the Western Coast, or those in the Mogul dominions.

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.198.

<sup>2</sup>Oriental Commerce, 1. xviii.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 1. p.xxi.

<sup>4</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. IX.

<sup>5</sup>See English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-64.

The fleet for the year 1617 was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Dale. He had special orders to protect the Company from the attacks of the Dutch and "in particular to prevent private traders and interlopers from disturbing the Company's commerce."<sup>1</sup> The fleet lost their finest vessel, the Sun, while rounding Cape Comorin, but finally reached Bantam, November 19, 1618. At this time the Dutch had siezed Courthope's ships in the Bandas and had blockaded him on shore. In March two ships were sent to his relief, but fell into the hands of the Dutch. In retaliation the English took possession of the Black Lion, a Dutch vessel. For this act the English were ejected from Jaccatra. Dale besieged the Dutch factories, aided by the Javese, but their quarrels prevented complete success. An indecisive action was fought with a Dutch fleet, after which the combined fleets of Dale and Pring retired to the Coromandel Coast. John Jourdain was killed at Patani and the Sampson and Hound seized.<sup>2</sup> In all, the Dutch had taken eleven English vessels. The news of the truce signed in London was brought by the Bull, which arrived April 8, 1620.<sup>3</sup>

Captain Shilling was placed in command of the fleet sent out in 1618, consisting of the London, Hart, Roebuck, Eagle. On the way out he took possession of Saldanha bay near the Cape. The fleet touched at Surat, and here separated, the Hart and Eagle proceeding to Jask.<sup>4</sup> Captain Shilling decided to reopen trade with the Red Sea ports. All trade with Mocha and Aden had been abandoned after the

<sup>1</sup>Ledger and Sword, 1. p.140

<sup>2</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. p.xxxix.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.xlii.

<sup>4</sup>Oriental Commerce, 1. p.xvii.



ill-treatment accorded to Captain Middleton. Shilling was highly successful, receiving a phirmaund from the Governor of Mocha. Duties to be levied on English goods were 3 percent on imported merchandize, and a 3 percent tax on the cost price of all exported goods.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the reception accorded to Captain Shilling, the Hart and Eagle were unable to reach Jask on account of a blockading Portuguese fleet. On their return to Surat, the combined fleet proceeded to Jask and engaged the Portuguese in a nine-hour battle. The Persians impressed by this action, granted the English the right to erect a fort in the harbor.<sup>2</sup> Captain Shilling did not survive to see the result of his act, his death being caused by a wound received during the action.<sup>3</sup>

The trade opened with Arabia progressed favorably. A voyage made by the Lion to Mocha resulted in a profit of 100 percent.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the favorable opening in this direction, the year 1620 was rather barren of results. The fleet under John Bickley had brought out goods to the value of £ 28,608, and bullion valued at £ 62,490. In spite of this but a single vessel was dispatched to England carrying a cargo valued at £ 108,887.<sup>5</sup> During the season of 1621 four ships arrived from England bearing £ 6,253 in goods and £ 12,000 in Spanish rials. This year the homeward fleet likewise consisted of a single ship with a cargo worth £ 94,464,<sup>6</sup> made up chiefly of cloves and pepper. The next year Ormus was taken from the Portuguese, with the aid of the Persians, April 22, 1622. This

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.205.

<sup>2</sup>Oriental Commerce. Milburn, 1. p.xvii.

<sup>3</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.229.

<sup>4</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. xvii.

<sup>5</sup>Oriental Commerce, 1. p.xviii.

<sup>6</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.225.

released the English vessels so that a fleet of five ships were sent homeward, with cargoes that realized £ 389,000 in England. At the same time five more ships arrived from England with £ 61,000 bullion and £ 6,420 goods. The succeeding year seven ships reached India with cargoes of £ 68,720 in Spanish rials and £ 17,345 in goods. The sale of the cargoes of the five homeward bound vessels brought 485,593, exclusive of the Persian raw silk that fetched £ 97,000.<sup>1</sup>

The following is an abstract of East Indian trade from March 25, 1620, to March 25, 1624:

1620	Laden on 10 ships	£ 62,490 bullion	£ 28,508 goods
1621	" " 4 "	12,900 "	6,523 "
1622	" " 5 "	61,600 "	6,430 "
1623	" " 7 "	<u>68,720</u> "	<u>17,345</u> "
	Total	205,710	58,806
	Grand Total	£ 269,516	

Transports from India for the same period are as follows:

1620	1 ship, with indigo, calicoes, drugs	£ 108,887
1621	1 ship, with pepper, cloves, China raw silk	£ 94,464
1622	5 ships with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, gum-lac, indigo, calico	£ 296,600
	Persian raw silk	£ 93,000
1623	5 ships, with similar goods	£ 485,593
	Persian raw silk	£ 97,000
	Recovered from the Dutch	<u>£ 80,000</u>
	Total in these four years	£ 1,255,444 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Commerce, l. p.xx.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, l. p.xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, l. p.xxiii.



From this table one is able to comprehend the growing importance of the silk trade with Persia. Such a trade was now on a settled basis, as the English had a factory at Jask, and also received the customs of Gombroon. These duties had been granted them as a reward for helping the Persians expel the Portuguese from Ormus. The English had received as their share of the booty

100,000, which was but a trifle compared to that which the Persians had looted. As their share of this prize money the Duke of Buckingham and the Secretary of State had each demanded and received

10,000.<sup>1</sup> The expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus freed both the English and Persians from an irritating danger. The nearest Portuguese possession was now Muscat. In 1623 the Persians renewed the phirmaund granted to Mr. Barker in 1618. The terms of the grant gave the English freedom of trade, exemption from duties, free passage for goods through Laristan, and the right to have an agent at the Court in Ispahan. All silk might be brought to Ispahan free of duty. The only terms the Persians would not grant was the English demand that they accept in payment for the silk one-third money and the rest in English goods.<sup>2</sup> In 1624-25 the Persian trade was nearly abandoned. The high price charged by the Shah for raw silk, combined with the low selling price of such English goods as cloth and tin, discouraged the factors.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the silk trade was a royal monopoly rendered all protests utterly useless. The Shah refused to lower his prices, but consented to make the Company a gift of two bales for every 100 bales they bought. He also guar-

<sup>1</sup>Oriental Commerce, 1. p.xx.

<sup>2</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.244.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 1. p.261.

anted to purchase a large quantity of cloth, tin, or other English goods that they might import into his dominions.<sup>1</sup>

Indian goods were more suitable for the Persian trade than the heavy English piece goods. Such Indian piece goods as sashes, chintes, raw dutties, white calicoes were in constant demand. The market for such wares as sugar powder, sugar candy, ginger, steel, cassia fistula, turmeric, cordamons, pepper, iron, opium, tamarinds, gunny and cotton wool, was at all times brisk.<sup>2</sup> In addition white baftas, myrrh, spinkenard, turbithy and Arabian coffee found a ready market. This coffee is perhaps the first mentioned by an Englishman. It was in great demand in Persia, bringing 24 shahis per royal maund, about 8 shillings.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with these orders, President Kerridge dispatched these goods to Thomas Barker at Jask, October 29, 1619. The next year William Bell writing to Surat from Persia, indicates that the price of coffee is now 50 shahes, gum-lac is selling at 35 shahes at Ispahan, and 40 at Ghilan. He wishes 200 maunds of this article. Indigo is also desired for it is bringing 560 - 600 shahes per seven royal namds.<sup>4</sup> That the silk trade was still profitable is seen by the cargoes of the Whale, 100 bales; Dolphin, 100 bales; the Blessing, 420 bales, and Reformation, 150 bales of Persian silk.<sup>5</sup> Emanuel Butta, master of the Blessing, expected that 800 more bales would be provided for the fleet sailing this year.

1 Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.262.

2 English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. p.76.

3 Ibid. p.83.

4 Ibid. 1622-23. p.23.

5 Ibid. p.342.



The discussion of the separate yearly voyages of the second joint stock and the growth of the Persian trade having occupied our attention so far, we must now turn to a consideration of the Indian factories. Thomas Kerridge was the President of the factors and resided at Surat. He sailed for England, November 25, 1621, but returned in 1624. During his absence Giles James occupied his position as President. In the same year the President at Batavia was Thomas Brockedon.

Francis Fettiplace was the Company's representative at Agra in 1618. He finds it impossible to buy dutties and carnation calicoes as the factors at Surat have requested him to do. Persian silk brought by the overland route costs 15 shillings, but none is to be procured. As usual we find that the market for English goods is dull only 170 pieces being disposed of in the last two years. Fettiplace has dispatched 951 fardles of indigo, 20 bales of calicoes, and six carpets to Surat. He expressed the hope that he may be able to buy 350 fardles of indigo and 10,000 pieces of semianoes for the coming year. The carpets made in Agra cost about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per square covedo. This price makes Fettiplace hesitant about buying but a few as samples. The cost of transportation was excessive. When the cost of a camel was but  $12\frac{1}{2}$  rupees,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Kerridge figures that the cost of carriage from Burhanpur to Surat was  $1\frac{3}{4}$  mamoodies per small maund or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  d. per pound. From Agra the cost was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  mamoodies per camel, Camboy and Ahmadabad  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mamoodies per small maund. The custom duties added  $1\frac{1}{4}$  percent to the cost of transportation.<sup>2</sup> February 20, 1619, a caravan of 169 camels was dispatched from Agra

<sup>1</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. pp.46,47.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.52.

The goods carried were indigo 278 fardles, samanoes 14 fardles, carpets 11 packs, ambertes 7 fardles, mandlus 2 fardles, sugar candy 26 palnoes, or a total of 338 fardles. The cost per camel from Agra to Surat was 14 3/4 rupees. or a total of 2315 3/4 rupees.<sup>1</sup> Such a rate made the transportation of bulky cheap goods impossible. It must not be thought that the trade with the interior was insignificant, for on April 8, 1619, we read of an English caravan of 1600 camels leaving for Surat.<sup>2</sup>

From Thomas Kerridge we learn that sugar candy is no longer required in England. He, too, finds it impossible to buy quilts and dyed narrow baptas and calicoes. He hopes to be able to provide 10,000 broad baptas for the next year. Surat will provide a market for 150 broadcolths per year and also 12,000 pounds of lead. Iron will not sell in Surat, nor will the lead find a market in Persia. Kerridge informs the Company that cochineal, pearls, and enamel are not desired, nor will bone lace and gloves sell well. The swords sent out are of poor quality and too heavy for Indian use. Corral is greatly desired by the natives for burial purposes. The market is abundant, but the native merchants will not allow corral to be landed. They controlled the supply of corral that came from the Mediterranean through the Red Sea. Under these circumstances they disliked to see their monopoly threatened by the English.

Robert Hughes writing from Agra December 15, 1619, states that he is buying spinkenard, pintadoes, quilts, indigo, gum-lac, and Bengal silk. This silk was of an inferior quality, poorly reolled and hence costing but 7 shillings per pound. The princes at the

<sup>1</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. p.73.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.90.



court have bought some silver cloth. Hughes admits the profit was 50 percent and naively admits that "more we durst not demand." <sup>1</sup> Goods to be purchased for England are semyanos carpets, chintz, quilts, Bengal stuffs, to a total of 12 (9?) 650 rupees. The factors at Ahmadabad are to provide dulties, baftas, chintz, cotton, quilts, calicoes, and agate beads to the value of 151,813 rupees.<sup>2</sup> English goods such as lead, ivory, mercury, vermillion, amber beads, pearls, and sword blades were sent to Burhanpur.<sup>3</sup> Writing from Patna, November 30, 1620, Hughes reports that from 10,000 to 15,000 pieces of amberty calicoes might be purchased there. Were it not for raw silk and the amberty calicoes the factory would not be worth continuance.<sup>4</sup>

President Kerridge held a council meeting in Surat, March 1, 1621. From the minutes we learn that the following sums of money were at the disposal of the merchants for investments in Indian goods. Surat 671,266 mamoodies, Ahmadabad 37,073, Agra 202,770, Broach 48,000, Bardoa 10,000, Burhanpur 70,814, or a total of 1,039,923 mamoodies. This money was to be invested in narrow baftas, sealing wax, turmeric, gum-lac, indigo, dyed baftas, green ginger, calicoes to the number of 22,000 pieces from Lahore, 100 maunds of Bengal silk, musk and civit from Lahore. The total outlay for these goods was estimated at 796,895 mamoodies.<sup>5</sup> November 7, 1621, Giles James at Surat had sufficient cagroes for the London and her consort. The lading consisted of 80,000 narrow baftas, 18,000 broad baftas, 5,000 nicanus, 4,000 semianoes, 16,000 dutties,

<sup>1</sup>English factories in India. Foster. 1618-22. pp.161-163.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.178.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.189.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.213.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.235.

200 bales Biana indigo, 9,000 pounds Serques indigo, 100 maunds silk and gum-lac. He had hopes of procuring 2,000 maunds of pepper.<sup>1</sup> The price of Achin pepper was now 64 rials a bahar, when the same amount had been purchased by Lancaster for 5 rials. Murcury was bought by the natives at 4 sh. 6 d. per pound or 150 mamoodies per maund.<sup>2</sup> Lead brought 7½ mamoodies per pound. Double looking glasses sold for 1400 rupees, when their value in England was 100 liagate pictures now produced but a paltry 50 percent profit. Before the Venitians had shipped large quantities by way of the Red Sea, the average returns had been around 300 percent. We also learn that a great ruby worth 1,000 l had brought 6,500 rupees,<sup>3</sup> and a large pearl sent out in Bickley's fleet, sold for 5,000 rupees, the cost being 340 l.<sup>4</sup>

The call for Indian piece goods was regular and quite large. March 8, 1622, Giles James orders the factors at Ahmadabad to purchase 53,500 rupees worth of cloths. The order required 10,000 dutties, 10,000 pieces broader serijas, 20,000 narrow baftas, costing about 22 and 25 to 30 rupees per corge, 11 score. On August 15, of the same year, William Martin, at Broach, writes that he has brought neccanes, poppile, chokree cappere, hussane, buckar, gingams, duttyes, trickandes, and seals, also 28,138 pieces of coarse narrow baftas of which 23,000 are for England.<sup>6</sup> Cotton yarn at Broach cost 7 - 20 pice per seer. At this price Robert Young estimates the supply at 2,600 maunds. English funstians will find a

<sup>1</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1618-21. p.323.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.326.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.327.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.328.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. 1622-23. p.56.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p.110.



sale provided they retailed at from 12 to 18 pice per seer.<sup>1</sup> Indian piece goods shipped from Surat to Batavia included cannikins, baftas, byrams, tricondee, ardeas, hussanees, nicanees, seriibaffs, mussafees, tureas, selos, topechinds, braules, gageas, cassadees, caddees, gebadies, nuries, patoñas, serassas, dutties, tapsiles, chintz, pilgars, muttfones, mavies.<sup>2</sup> Ebony wood shipped from Surat to England brought 20 sh. per cwt.<sup>3</sup> Aloes could be purchased nearly as cheap in Surat as in Arabia or Socotra. Indigo from Sarlej cost 12 rupees per maund, that of Biana, from 28 - 32 rupees. Surat was no market for broadcloth, but 40 - 50 being sold yearly.<sup>4</sup> Nor was copper or iron profitable, but lead brought 7 7/8 mamoodies per maund, mercury 105 rupees per pound. At this rate 300 - 400 maunds of mercury would find a ready sale. Amber beads to a total value of from 500 to 1,000 li would prove profitable.<sup>5</sup>

Such in brief is the history of Indian trade down to 1625. The growth of the Surat trade is shown by the following table. The first ship loaded at Surat was in 1615.

<sup>1</sup>English factories in India. Foster. 1622-23. p.56.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 1624-29. p.11

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.38.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.63.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.64.

Date	Ship	Tonnage	Cost
1615	Hope	300 tons	£ 15,670 <u>1.</u>
1616	Lion	500	
1617	Globe	500	
1618	Bull	400	
1619	Anne	800	£ 36,000
1620	Lion	500	£ 28,000
1621	Hart	500	
	Roebuck	300	
1622	London	800	
	Jonas	500	
1624	Dolphin	600	Valued in England £120,000
1625	William	700	
	Blessing	700	
	Star	350	" " £ 43,000
1626	James	900	
	Jonas	700	
1628	Palsgrave	1,000	
	Dolphin	600	
	Discovery	500	£ 80,000
	William	700	£ 60,000
	Exchange	700	£ 53,440
	Blessing	700	
	Star	350	
1629	Hart	500	
	Expedition	300	£ 51,150
	Hopewell	150 <sup>1</sup>	

<sup>1</sup>English Factories in India. Foster. 1624-29. xxxiv.



This survey brings the topic down to the death of James I, 1625. The third joint stock was not opened for subscription till 1632. A brief sketch of this intervening period may not come amiss.

The factory from Jaccatra was abandoned by the factors because of Dutch hostility. Captain Swan of the Charles removed the location to the isle of Lagundy, renamed Prince Charles Island.

This position had to be abandoned May 31, 1625, on account of the unhealthy nature of the island.<sup>1</sup> A fleet of seven ships was dispatched to India in 1626. At this time the Company was in debt

200,000, while the stock was selling at a discount of 20 percent on a 100 share.<sup>2</sup> As usual the Dutch gained the advantage over their English competitors, receiving more favorable terms with regard to the silk trade in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

A petition to Charles requesting redress of grievances received from the Dutch, was partly successful. In 1627 three Dutch merchantmen were seized and conveyed into Portsmouth, pending negotiations.<sup>4</sup> So low had the Company fallen that but two vessels and a pinnace, carrying but between £ 60,000 and £ 70,000 in goods and bullion, left England this year.<sup>5</sup> The factory at Batavia had been re-established following its removal from Prince Charles island. In the next year it was finally located at Bantam. This year the fleet consisted of three ships for Persia, and two for India.<sup>6</sup> Four ships were dispatched to Persia in 1629, and none for India.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.264.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.271-2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.274.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.277.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.278.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p.287.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. p.292.

Affairs slightly improved at this stage. The Mogul granted the English a Phirmaund, allowing them the right to inflict reprisals upon their enemies, the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the factors in India had contracted a debt of £100,000 which had been invested in cloth. The interest on this proved a heavy drain on their resources. A fleet had been ordered to Masulipatam to overawe the governor and force him to pay outstanding debts.<sup>2</sup> The recuperation effected by the Company is shown by the size of its fleet of 1630; the Mary, Exchange, Speedwell, Hopewell, were to proceed to Persia, the Palsgrave and London to Bantam.<sup>3</sup> September, 1630, saw five English ships gathered at Surat. The arrival of several Portuguese gallions, resulted in several smart skirmishes.<sup>4</sup> The trade in the Spice islands languished at this period. Cloves, spices, mace were hard to procure, for the natives had taken to cultivating rice and sugar cane. It was with great difficulty that 1500 tons of pepper were procured from Jambée, and 800 tons on the Sumatra coast. The spice islands now produced but barely 500 tons, the town of Macassar but 200 tons of cloves.<sup>5</sup>

The second joint stock had expired, December 25, 1627. Support had not been sufficient for the formation of a new stock, January 21, 1628.<sup>6</sup> As late as May, 1631, the response to the appeals for a new subscription had netted but £11,000. The attempt was accordingly dropped for the time being. A successful attempt was made in 1631, £420,000 being subscribed.

<sup>1</sup>Annals of the East India Company, 1. p.294.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.295.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.299.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.301.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.305

<sup>6</sup>European Commerce with India. p.111.



Half this money was spent in purchasing the assets of the second joint stock.at a valuation of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the pound.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion it may be stated that in the twenty-one years antedating the 29th of November, 1621, the Company had sent 86 ships to India. Thirty-six had returned with cargoes, 9 had been lost, 5 worn out, 11 seized by the Dutch, the rest were in Indian waters, or on the homeward journey. During these twenty-one years the Company had exported £ 613,681 of bullion, £ 319,211 of woolens, lead, iron, tin. The cost in India of the cargoes of the 36 ships that had returned was £375,288. The selling price of these cargoes in England amounted to £ 2,004,600. The Company owned property worth £ 400,000, possessed a fleet totalling 10,000 tons, employed 2,500 sailors, 500 ship carpenters, caulkers, and joiners. The force resident in India as factors was about one hundred and twenty.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>European Commerce with India. p.112.

<sup>2</sup>European Trade with India. p.104.

## APPENDIX I

List of ships, their date of construction or first mention, tonnage, commander, and history as far as it can be traced.

Ship	Date	Tonnage	Commander	History
Advice	1615	160*		
Anne Royal	1617	900	Andrew Shilling	1620 Wrecked near Gravesend.
Ascension	1600	260 400*	Wm. Brand	Lancaster's first voyage 1604; Middleton, second voyage, 1608; Sharpleigh fourth voyage. Wrecked at Cambaya.
Attendant	1614			
Bear	1618			To be called White Bear. Burnt by Dutch, 1620.
Bee	1617	150		A pinnace.
Blessing	1616 1629			
Bull	1616	400	Robert Adams	
Charles	1618 1629			
Christopher	1616			
Claw	1620			
Clove	1611 (1616)	527*	Saris	Eighth voyage.
Concord	1614	213*	Roger Kilvelt	
Consent	1607	115	David Middleton	Third voyage in 1609. To be sold.
Darling	1610	90 150*		Sixth voyage.
Defence	1614		W. Heath	
Diamond	1618			Built at Deptford.

\*Digges.



Ship	Date	Tonnage	Commander	History
Discovery	1616			
Dolphin	1621			
Dragon	1600	600	Lancaster	According to Digges, 1613 was first voyage, of 1060 tons.
Dragon Red	1604		H. Middleton Keeling	Second voyage. Third and tenth Voyages.
Eagle	1620		Thos. Stevens	1644.
Elizabeth	1618	978		
Exchange	1620			
Expedition	1609	300*	D. Middleton	In 1612, Capt. C. Newport
Fortune	1621		Master R. Burgess	
Globe	1610		Hippon	Seventh voyage.
God Speed	1620	50		A junk.
Great Thomas	1624			Digges, Gt. Defence, 400.
Guest	1600			Victualled, abandoned by Lancaster.
Hart	1620		Red Blith	In Shilling's fleet.
Hector	1600 1604	300	Jas. Middleton Colhurst Hawkins	First voyage. Second voyage. Third voyage.
Hector	1611 1613 1614	800,	Towerson Downton	Eighth voyage, in Saris' fleet; Second joint stock voyage. Sunk at Bantam
Hope	1614 1618	533*	Coranby	
Hoseander	1612	213*		Tenth voyage.
Hound	1618		Master W. Gordon	1619 taken by Dutch.
James	1617	600*	E. Marlowe	Ninth voyage.
James Royal	1616 1624		Master Rowland Coytmore	

\*Digges.

Ship	Date	Tonnage	Commander	History
Jonas	1621			
Lannarett	1614			Consort of Falcon.
Lion	1614 1621	386*		Took Sir Thomas Roe to India.
London	1620		Shilling	1689-1701 Geo. Matthews.
Merchant Royal	1600			Lancaster's first voyage. Name changed to Bear.
Merchant's Hope	1613		Nicholas Emsworth	
Moon	1618 1621			
New Year's Gift	1614	800 867*	Downton	In 1617 in Capt. Pringle's fleet.
Palsgrave	1618 1621	1083	Chas. Clevenger	Sailed from Jirando to cruise off Manila.
Peppercorn	1610 1614 1621			At Jirando.
Relief				A pinnace in Sir H. Middleton's sixth voyage.
Richard	1621	20		To explore about Cape.
Roebuck	1620		Richard Swan	Capt. Shilling's fleet.
Rose	1626			Took Sir Robt. Shirley & Sir Padmore Colton to Persia.
Rose				To explore around Cape.
Royal James	1624		John Widdell	
Ruby	1618			
Samaritan	1614	543*		Consort to Thomas.
Samuel				Victualler to sixth voyage.
Sampson	1619		Jourdain	Taken by Dutch.
Scant	1624			Small pinnace.
Sea Adventure	1617			Junk to trade to Siam.

\*Digges.



Ship	Date	Tonnage	Commander	History
Solomon		400*		In tenth voyage.
Spie	1624			Small pinnace.
Speedwell	1614			
Starre	1622			
Sun	1617			Wrecked 1619.
	1624			
Susan	1600	240		Lancaster's first voyage.
		400*		Floundered.
Swan	1616		Nath. Courthorp	
Thomas	1611	342*		In Saris' fleet, 1614.
Thomasene	1614	133		Consort of Thomas.
Trades In-crease	1610	1000	Sir. H. Middleton	Burned while being ca- reened at Bantam.
		1293*		
Unicorn	1617			Wrecked 1620.
Union	1608	400*	Rd. Rowles	Fourth voyage. Wrecked on coast of Brittany.
Unity	1619			
Whale	1621			
White Bear				Sea Bear. Merchant Royal
William	1616			
William and Ralph				See Starre.

\*Digges.

These statistics are taken from Lancaster's Voyages to the East Indies, edited by Clements R. Markham. Appendix. I have added such information as I have come across in my reading.

From 1600 - 1625 we find that the East India Company employed a total of 76 ships, of a given tonnage of 7,026 tons for 15 ships, of which three are pinnaces, victuallers, or junks of

20, 50, 90 tons. Including these, we get an average tonnage for the 12 ships of 572 tons. Comparing this with the statement of Sir William Monson, Naval Trade, page 294, that there were but four merchant ships above 400 tons in England in 1600, the average is certainly high. Even in the eighteenth century Keble Chatterton, in his Old East Indiamen, states that the ships averaged about 499 tons. This was to save the expense of a chaplain, as a ship of 500 tons was required to carry one.

In compiling these statistics, I have been as critical as possible. In these compilations I have found the following facts:

Tonnage	According to Digges	Other Sources
Ascension	400	200
Darling	150	90
New Year's Gift	867	800
Susan	400	240
Trades Increase	<u>1293</u>	<u>1000</u>
Total	3010 <sup>1</sup>	2390

Total discrepancy 629 tons.

<sup>1</sup> Digges. Defence of Trade. 1615. p.19.



## APPENDIX II

A List of the several Charters or Letters Patents granted to the East India Company.

Date A.D.	Anno Regni	Day & Month:	
1604	1 James I	23 Feb.	:Letters Patents to licence the Governor :and Company to transport 12,000 of :foreign money.
1607	4 James I	5 Jan.	:To transport 20,000 Foreign Silver.
1608	5 James I	8 Feb.	:To transport 20,000 Foreign Silver.
1610	7 James I	22 May	:Letters Patents of licence for the Gov- :ernor and Company to sell to other mer- :chants, spices ungarbled, in whole packs, :to be by them transported in such whole :packs.
1611	8 James I	4 Dec.	:Letters Patents of Privilege to the Gov- :ernor and Company not to be sued, arrest- :ed, molested, or disquieted in respect :to trading.
1616	13 James I	14 Dec.	:Letters Patents of Confirmation to Gov- :ernor and Company for transporting of :foreign silver, or imported into the :Kingdom, or new coined in the mint in :the Tower and divers other Privileges.
1617	14 James I	11 July	:Letters Patents of Licence, to sell :Spices ungarbled, in whole, and Pardon :for contempts of same, and Licence to :transport Foreign Bullion.
1618	15 James I	16 Jan.	:Letters Patents of Licence to transport :Foreign Bullion.
1622	20 James I	4 Feb.	:Letters Patents of Privileges to chastise :and correct all English Persons residing :in the East Indies, and committing any :disemeanor, either with Martial Law or :otherwise.
1624	22 James I	11 Oct.	:Letters Patents of a Pardon for certain :offences, and a grant unto them of such :sums of money and other goods and mer-

: : :chandize as did belong to the King.<sup>1</sup>  
 : : :  
 : : :  
 : : :

II. December 24, 1601.



III. December 24, 1601. The following was sent as a gift to the King by the Company.



IV. January 3, 1607/8.<sup>2</sup>



The 2 stanzas for the 1601, the 1604 and 1608 were identical.

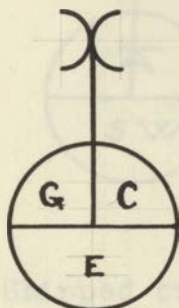
<sup>1</sup> Taken from Charters granted to the East India Company from 1601. From this appears that between 1604 - 1608 the Company received Letters Patents to export 52,000 in foreign silver, or bullion.



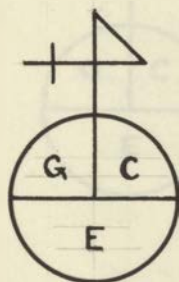
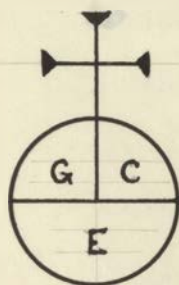
## APPENDIX III

## Changes in East India Company's Trademark

I. December 31, 1600.



II. According to Fryer the following was used on goods shipped from India to England.

III. January 6, 1647/8.<sup>2</sup>

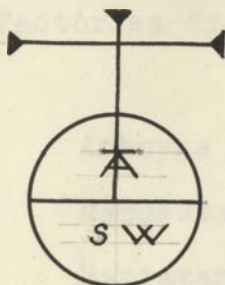
The S stands for Surat, the place the goods were located on the Antilope.

<sup>1</sup>Court Records. p.107.

<sup>2</sup>Report Old Court Records. p.31

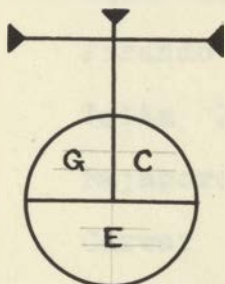
January 20, 1656/7.

Shipped at Swally roads by Benjamin.



March 25, 1633/4.

Shipped on Palsgrave, London to Surat.





## APPENDIX IV

## List of English Factories from 1602 to 1685

Shiraz	Amboyna 1612
Gombroon	Maccessar
Bushire	Banjaramassa
Ispahan	Succadana
Lahore	Pulo Condore
Agra 1613	Siam 1623
Lucknow	Firando
Agmere 1614	Tatta 1635
Cambay 1612	Rajapore 1637
Ahmadahabad 1612	Carwar 1637
Baroda 1612	St. George 1639
Surat 1612	Porto Nova 1645-46
Barcelore	Tranquebar 1645-46
Quilon	Devicatah ante 1616
Porea	Pupley 1633
Armagon 1626	Basalore 1640
Masulipatam 1621-32	Cassimbazar 1640
Pettipolli 1610	Hughley 1640
Ellore	Ft. Marlboro and Ft. York 1657
Patna 1620	Priaman 1685
Jambi	Vizagapatan 1668
Indraporee	Bimliapatan 1661

Passaman	Ft. William 1698
Jahore Malocca	Canton
Bantam 1603	Chicocole
Dacca 1666	Armoy
Magenlanao	Formosa Chusan



## APPENDIX V

List of commodities sent to and brought from the East Indies, with their place of origin, and price, where it has been able to supply this information.

John Chamberlain prepared a list of imports from India, as brought by the Dutch and Portuguese.

"The comodities of the Este Indies"

Sinemonde (cinnamon)

Pepercase

Pepper

Callycowe (calico) from Calicut

Large pepper

Cloves

Maces, Nutmegs

Ginger

Mirabalones in conserve

Synamon water (cinnamon water)

Campyer (camphor)

Burrasie

Gallengale

Cordamente

Red sandes (red saunders wood)

White sandes (sandalwood)

Tamaryndes (tanarinds, a fruit used for sherbets, etc.)

Myrre (myrrh)

Balsamum (balsem)

Muske (wax from mummies)  
Masticke  
Pepper in pickell  
Muske and syvitt  
Amber greise (ii ambergris)  
Amber blacke  
Benjamyn flyne (benjamin)  
Benjamyn course  
Lignum alloes (islands of Socatra)  
Blew India (indigo)  
Nacryce to die wethall  
Hard wax  
Turbeythe  
Radix China  
Alloies Sicotrinan (aloes of Socatra)  
Spignard (spinkenard)  
Oyle of Maces  
Rubarbe (Rhubarb)  
Goom appoponare  
Gum Selapin  
Gum Elemne  
Castorium<sup>1</sup>  
Opium  
Tacomihoca  
Tutia  
Boill

<sup>1</sup>Old Court Record. p.201.



Indies nuttes (cocoa nuts)  
 Silke in clothe  
 Silke raw  
 Clothe of erva (herba)  
 Paynted clothes (calicoes)  
 Callycow clothe  
 Oeanaznenas bengallas lynen clothe of fyner sort than callycow  
 cloth of gaulde  
 Pussellanas (porcelain)  
 Certain dishes and plates so called  
 Targattes  
 Fpaunes  
 A stone called bazar (bezoar)  
 Diamonds  
 Rubyes (Rubies)  
 Sappiers (sapphires)  
 Esmeraldes (emeralds)  
 Pearles grealt (Pearls)  
 Seede of pearle  
 Turkeis (Turquoise)  
 Callimas armaticus (calamus armaticus incense)  
 Redoorya  
 Cubebes  
 Quilts of silke.

Hakluyt Richard, Archdeacon of Westminister, supplied details of "sondry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies".

Pepper in Malabar and embarked at "Onor, Barzelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Crangenor, Cochni, and Coulan"; "all which places are in the Portugalas possession." "It groweth about Calicut, but the Kinge of Calicut and they are seldom in amity."<sup>1</sup>

"Out of the Portugales jurisdiction" it was to be obtained in the isle of "Zeilon," (Ceylon?) and Sumatra, and "in Queda on the maine of Malocca," "also in the Kingdome of Patane," in Siam, "in the territories neere Malocca," and in the Isles of Nicubar," (Nicolar Islands).

"Long Peper" was to be had in Sumatra, Pegu, Bangala," and in the "Isle of Baratene."

Cinnamon. "The best sinamon groweth in the Isle of Zeilon (Ceylon?), the Kinge whereof is the Portugales mortal enemy; where nevertheless they have a small port called Colombo.

Wild Cinnamon. "Wild sinamon called by the Portuguese canella de moto, groweth in Malabar . . . in the isles of Nicubar, . . . likewise . . . in the islande of Java, in the Maine of Malacca."<sup>2</sup>

Cloves, "in the isles of Maluco, namely in Tarenate (Ternate), Tidore, Matilo, Machian, Bochian, Alatus; on the north-west end of the Isles of Curam (Ceram); and in the isle of Ambonio" (Amboyna). "Great store of cloves are to be sold in Bantam, and cloves are also brought from Siam to Malocca." In the isles of Tidore and Ambonio the Portugales have two small fortes, as appeareth by the great Italian map taken in

<sup>1</sup>Old Court Records. p.202.

<sup>2</sup>Old Court Records. p.203.



the Madre de Deos, which I have translated, and caused to be drawne for the company."<sup>1</sup>

Nutmegs and Maces. "Nutmegs and maces, chiefly in the Isle of Banda, and the seven isles thereto adjoyninge . . . likewise . . . in three other greater isles to the north-west, called Ana, Leazer, and Rucellas . . . and in . . . Bornea, . . . Java, and . . . Junda," and "in the Isle of Baratave."  
(Batavia or Jaccatra)

Camphor. "The best camphora groweth in canes in the Isle of Bornea," and "about Chinchén in a citty of China," and "in Sumatra, and Java."

Indigo. "Anil or Indico," "in Gambaya," "but is sold good cheape in Bantam."

Amber is "found on the coast of Africa about Gafala (Safala near present Beira), Mozambique (Mosambique) and Malinde," (near present Nombassa), also near the isles of Maldivar, and on the coast of China.<sup>2</sup>

Musk. "Muske cometh from Tartarie (Turkestan), and from China. It is often falsified by the Chinoes and Jewes."

Civet. "Cevet, called by the Portuguese, Algalia is found in Bengala, the which people falsifie."

Benjamin. "Benjamin groweth much in the kingdome of Siam," and in Sumatra, Java, and in the country around Malocca.

Frankincense . . . "groweth in Arabia Felix, myrrh . . . cometh out of . . . and out of the country of the Abassins" (Abyssinia).

<sup>1</sup>See the Introduction.  
<sup>2</sup>Old Court Records. p.203.

Manna from Arabia, and Persia "but most out of the province of the Usbeke (Usbeg or Uzbek Tartars near Merv Bokhara, and Samarakand) lying behind Persia, in Tartarie."

Rhubarb "groweth about Campion, a province and city lying north of China. It is most brought by land through the country of Usbeke . . . and so cometh to Ormus, and thence to Sumatra and Java.<sup>1</sup> The best is brought for the most parte over land to Venice. Rhubarb also groweth abundantly in the country of Malabar. It also cometh from Cathaio or China to Malacca by water."

Saunders or Sandalwood. "Sandalo or Sanders are of the three sorts -- white, yellow, and red . The white and yellow (sandalwood) which is the beste come from the island of Timor. The red sanders grow in Coromandel and Tenasserri, on the coast of Pigu."

Snakewood or Palo de Cobra "groweth most in the isle of Zeilon."

Lignum Aloes or "Palo d'aguilla" called in the Indies "calamba" is most plentiful in Malacca, Sumatra, Camboya, Siam, "and in the countries borderinge on the same."

Ginseng. "The roote of China," grows in no place but China.

Opium. "Of opium, tamarinde, mirabalans, spinkerard, aloe Zacatrina (Socatra) anucordi, calamus armaticus, costus, cubebs, galanga," etc. read Linchotens' account of the East Indies from chapter seventy-eight to eighty-three.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Old Court Records. p.203.

<sup>2</sup>Old Court Records. p.204. This shows the careful planning, reading of all sources for information, and thorough ransacking of records that might help in preparation.



# Goods in demand in the East.

"Notes of certayne comodities in good request in the East Indies, the Maluccos, and China," "velvets, damasks, satins, armesine of Portugal, safron and skarlets . . . woolen cloth made at Venice . . . Murrey, violet, redmosine, skarlet, light or grasse greene," and "emeraulds from Cairo, and the Spanish Indies," also "opinno or oppron." "Chekenis of gold,"<sup>1</sup> and "counterfeitte stones . . . brought from Venice, to deceve the rude Indians withal."<sup>2</sup>

Compare this account with I King, Ch. 10, II Chronicles Ch. IX, and especially Ezekiel Ch. 27.

<sup>1</sup>Venetion Zecchino, cecchina or sequins. Arabic Sikkat = coin stamp. Anglo Indian chekeni or checheen and check = 4 rupees. Arabid sicca rupee. 1st Letter book, Introduction. Also Old Court Records. p.205.

<sup>2</sup>Old Court Records. p.205.

## APPENDIX VI

## Goods for the First Voyage

Iron	30 tons	at	£ 270, 0. 0.
Tin wrought	5 tons		330, 0. 0.
Tin in bars	5 tons		420. 0. 0.
Lead	100 tons		1700. 0. 0.

Cloths

2	Scarlet in 4 halves
2	Stammetts
8	Blues
8	Azures
8	Plunketts
8	Popingays
4	Grass greens
8	Sadd greens
8	Venice greens
4	Olive greens
8	Reading clothes mingled 2 of each color
2	Neare colors
4	Violets
4	Primrose colors
80 at 16 li per cloth = £1280.0.0.	

Devonshire kersies of like colors 80 pieces at 50 sh. per piece = £ 200. 0.0.

Hampshires of all colors 20 pieces at 3 li 10 sh. = £ 65.0.0.

Narrow stuffs 100 at discretion = £250.0.0.



Presents for the King.

A Belt, a case of pistols, some plumes = £ 30.

Looking glasses, platters, spoons, toys of glass, spectacles and drinking glasses of all sorts, an ewer of plain silver.

Grand total = £ 4545. 0. 0.<sup>1</sup>

Further Presents.

A fountain with a basin 205 oz.

Standing cup with a cover 63 "

2 standing cups with covers 64 "

2 cups with covers 32 "

A basin and ewer 102 "

A ship's basin and ewer 32 "

2 Feather fans

2 Plumes of feathers

3 looking glasses

A target and headpiece belonging to the Muscovy Company.<sup>2</sup>

Bullion Shipped.

Red Dragon	£ 2600. 0.0
Hector	1733. 6.8
Ascension	866.13.4
Red Dragon in rials of eight	1733. 6.8
Hector	1733. 6.8
Ascension	866.13.4
Susan <sup>3</sup>	866.13.4

<sup>1</sup>Court Records. pp.36-37.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.141

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. pp.122-123.

A.D. 1606. "Computation of the charges for setting forth  
upon a third voyage to Bantorn and the Moluccas."

		£		
<u>Dragon</u> , 600 tons.	cost	2400.16	sh.	O.d.
Repair and charges		4770	O.	O.
Supplies		2195	O	O
Imprest to men		784	O	O
	Total	10,849	16	O
<u>Hector</u> 500 tons	cost	1416	O	O
Repairs, etc.	"	3000	O	O
Supplies	"	1726	O	O
Imprest to men	"	322	O	O
	Total	6464		
<u>Pennace</u> 120 tons	cost, etc.	2600	O	O
	Grand Total	£19,913	16	O

Merchandize to be sent in the ships

		£		
<u>Lead</u>	150 tons at 10 li per ton	1500	O	O
<u>Iron</u>	140 tons at 12 li per ton	1800	O	O
<u>Tin</u>	5 tons at 12 li per ton	360	O	O
<u>Cloths</u>	30 Venice redds at 12 li	360	O	O
	20 Stametts at 12 li	400	O	O
	10 Poppingey greens at 12 li	128	O	O
	5 Yellows at 11 li	55	O	O
	5 Flame coloured gallants at 15 li	75	O	O
	2 Blacks at 20 li	40	O	O
	5 Violet grays at 18 li	90	O	O



5 Murreys grays at 18 li	90	0	0
5 Blues at 15 li	75	0	0
5 French greens at 12 li	60	0	0
5 Plunketts at 12 li	60	0	0
5 Grass Greens at 12 li	60	0	0
5 Azures at 12 li	60	0	0

Total cloths   107   cost   £ 1545   0   0

Devonshire Kersies

20 Stametts at 4 li	80	0	0
10 Violet graine at 4 li	40	0	0
30 Venice reds                      )			
10 Papengey greens                )			
10 plaine coloured                )	at 50 sh.	150	0   0
10 grass greens                    )			
10 gallants                        )			
10 yellows                         )			
4 blacks                            )	at 50 sh.	75	0   0
6 blues                             )			

Total cloths,   120 kersies =   345   0   0

Keighley's Narrow Listes of the Best Sortes.

15 Venice reds                      )			
10 Poppingey greens               )			
15 plaine colors                    )			
10 gras greens                      )	70 pieces at 53 1/4 sh per piece =	183.6.8	
10 yellows                          )			
10 watchetts                        )			





## APPENDIX VII

Goods Sent to England in the Anne Royal February 15, 1619

On Account of the Old Joint Stock.			Mahm.	Pice
'Indico Serquese'	1,104 chests and baskets	274,942	7	
'Baftas Gingames',	40 fardels	276	3	
'Baftas broad'	8 pieces	120	16	
'Broad baftas'	5,302 pieces	33,195	21	
Sundry stuffs	10 carge	187	0	
Baftas for table napkins,	80 pieces	218	0	
'Reeses'	275 pieces	1,150	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Bloodstones	8,500	199	0	
'Baftas narrowe'	980 pieces	3,680	13	
'Indicoe Byana'	3562 great maunds, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ seers	278,673	18	
Musters of sundry sorts		234	10	
Carpets	46	3,930	2	
Dutties,	290 pieces	1,066	$\frac{1}{2}$	
'Baftas narrowe'	20 pieces	55	0	
Indigo dust	9 churls			
Plumbers' store		134	0	
Vellum and parchment,	1 chest	624		
Calico quilts,	4	202		
'Semians'	2,330 pieces	14,075		
'Sahum' cloth	50 pieces	431		
Mahmudis		613,311	18	

## ON Account of the New Joint Stock

	Mahm.	Pice
Baftas broad, 1000 pieces	6,777	24
Baftas narrow, watchettes, 1 corge	160	29
Baftas of 2 . . broad, 1 piece	24	6
'Necanies', 21 corge, 15 covids long and 1 $\frac{5}{12}$ broad	1,320	0
'Eramus', 7 covids long and 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ broad	177	16
Baftas coloured (599?) pieces	3,584	22
'Indico Serquese', 1,882 small maunds 24 seers	75,981	15
Indigo dust		
Dutties, 24 corge	2,190	11
Gum-Lac, 160 maunds $18\frac{1}{2}$ seers	2,957	0
Turmeric, 49 small maunds 35 seers	155	16
Baftas narrow, white, 99 corge 17 pieces	9,950	31
Sealing wax, 5 small maunds	200	0
'Baftaes names' or watchelts Cambaia, $9\frac{1}{2}$ covids long and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ broad, 10 corge	635	16
'Dutties Dulcae', 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ covids long and 1 $\frac{7}{24}$ broad, 20 corge	1,291	30
'Indicoes Serquese', 15 small maunds	645	20
'Pedaeria', various	897	2
	<hr/>	
Mahmudis	106,932	24

## Goods Shipped to the Southward on Captain Bonner's Fleet

'Browlls', 58 corge	2,090	0
Dutties, various	2,259	28
'Tapsules' 20 corge	2,329	8
'Cadia cotten' 5 corge	196	21



	Mahm.	Pice
'Mentasses' 5 corge	110	26
'Beminas pancharwira,' $3\frac{1}{2}$ corge	176	29
'Ditto sattevilas' $1\frac{1}{2}$ corge	111	3
'Grabades pancharwira' 5 corge	226	21
'Cannekins' 930 corge	18,199	21
'Pangeries' 12 corge	1,100	28
Pitcharies, 15 corge	1,337	$22\frac{1}{2}$
Baftas, various, 214 corge	17,316	$9\frac{3}{4}$
'Allejaies' 20 corge	1,740	3
'Tricandies' 100 corge	1,815	3
Ditto 619 $1/10$ corge	9,510	2
'Pilgar chawdar' 20 corge	3,668	14
'Mittfoones' 20 corge	2,370	1
'Pittolas' 127 corge	12,738	2
'Sabony' 5 corge	518	
'Newlee', little, 10 corge	675	2
'Mavee', 25 corge	436	1
'Seras' 30 corge	1,789	
'Buckar' $13\frac{1}{2}$ corge	572	
'Casseeds' 33 corge	2,747	
'Byrames blew', 40 corge	2,737	
'Chintes' 50 corge	3,900	
'Red Selas' 120 corge	4,468	24
'Byrames white', 10 corge	450	30
'Godelles' 20 corge	1,023	2
'Gingames' corge	2,548	0
Stuffs various	1,523	

	Mahm.	Pice
Cotton wool, 193 bags	2,608	
Steel, 188 corge	634	16
'Serebaffs' 397½ pieces	2,694	25
Corn, 540 maunds of 39 seers	553	22½
Spangles, 1 box	1,697	16
Iron, English, 1,149 bars	5,784	0
Divers toys	59	10 2/4
Ditto for barter	5,15(5?)	26 2/3
Iron for barter	52	0
Knives	44	24
Brass ordnance for the king	5,266	211 3/8
Apparel	294	0
Rials	91,082	0
	212,012	1
Deduct: 6 1/4 corge of dutties wrongly entered	398	11
Mahmudis	211,613	22

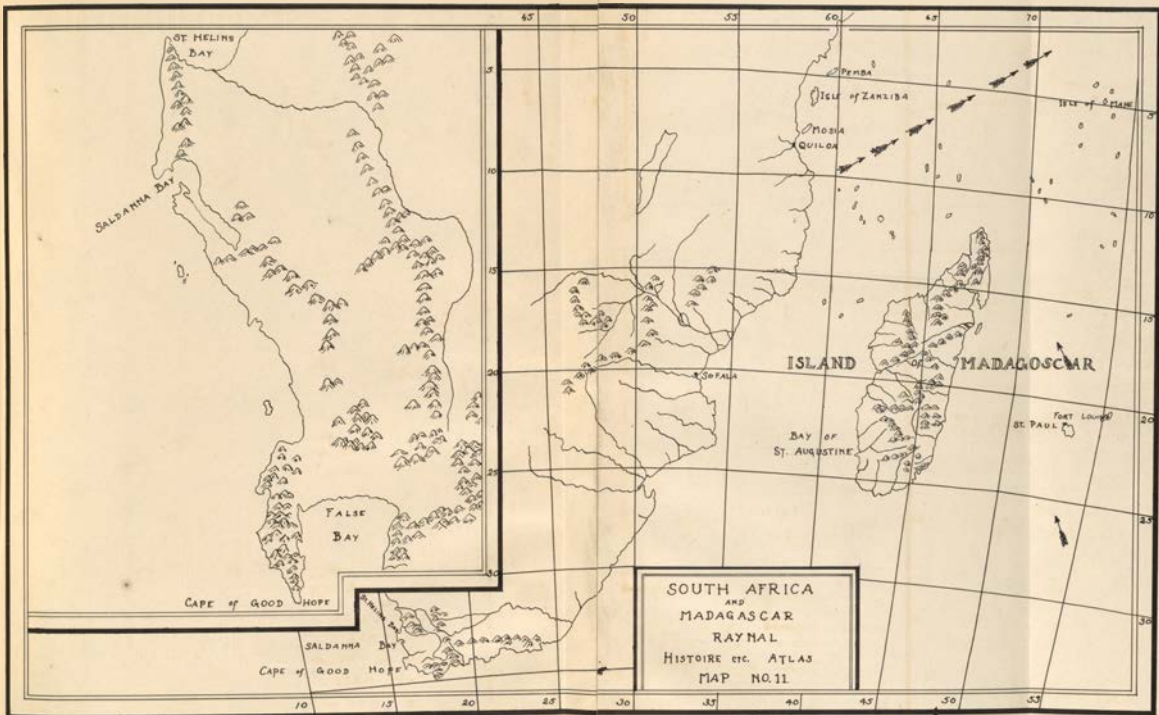
Goods Sent to the Red Sea in the Lion

'Cannikins' 64 corge	13,462	20
'Bocar' 13½ corge	493	30
'Dutties of Dulka' 92 corge	5,372	2½
'Allegas' 79 (1/4 ?) corge	7,368	27½
'Byrames blew' 22 corge 14 pieces	1,338	2
'Chawders' 173 corge	6,891	22
'Langers called carias' 111 1/4 corge	1,095	8



	Mahm.	Pice
Stuffs of various sorts	4,199	2
'Eramus' 75 corge	1,331	8
'Shashees' 116 pieces	1,486	25½
'Langees' 11 corge 16 pieces	273	19
'Baftaes narrowe' 80 corge	4,561	0
'Indicoe Jambusar' 12 churls	1,132	10½
'Shashes', 50 corge	1,220	0
'Gumbacke one stickes called ruslake 107 small maunds 29 seers	1,211	
'Serebaffes' 100 pieces	560	14
Looking glasses, 25	229	0
Knives, 336	156	0
Broadcloth	7,122	0
Tobacco, 155 maunds at 4 m. 18 p.	707	6
Fowling-pieces, etc.	185	
Sword-blades, 791	3,396	
Shashes, 4 bales		
Cash	300	
	66,747	
Deduct: Broadcloth not sent	284	
Mahmudis	66,463 <sup>1</sup>	

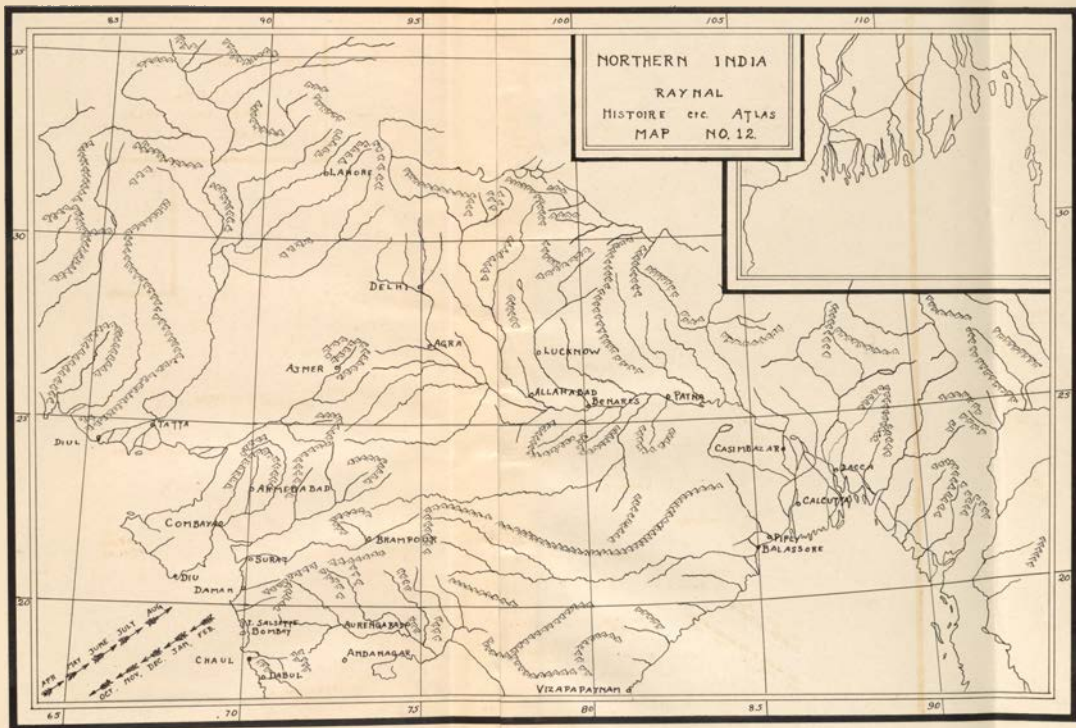
<sup>1</sup>English Factories in India. Foster, 1618-21. pp.61-64.

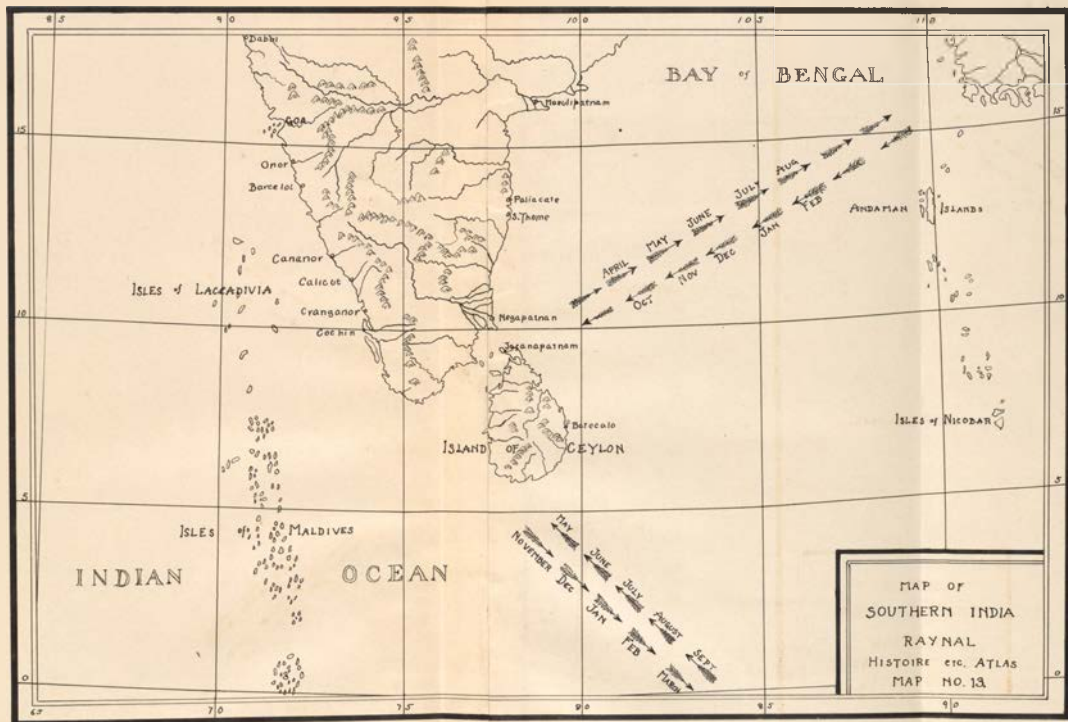




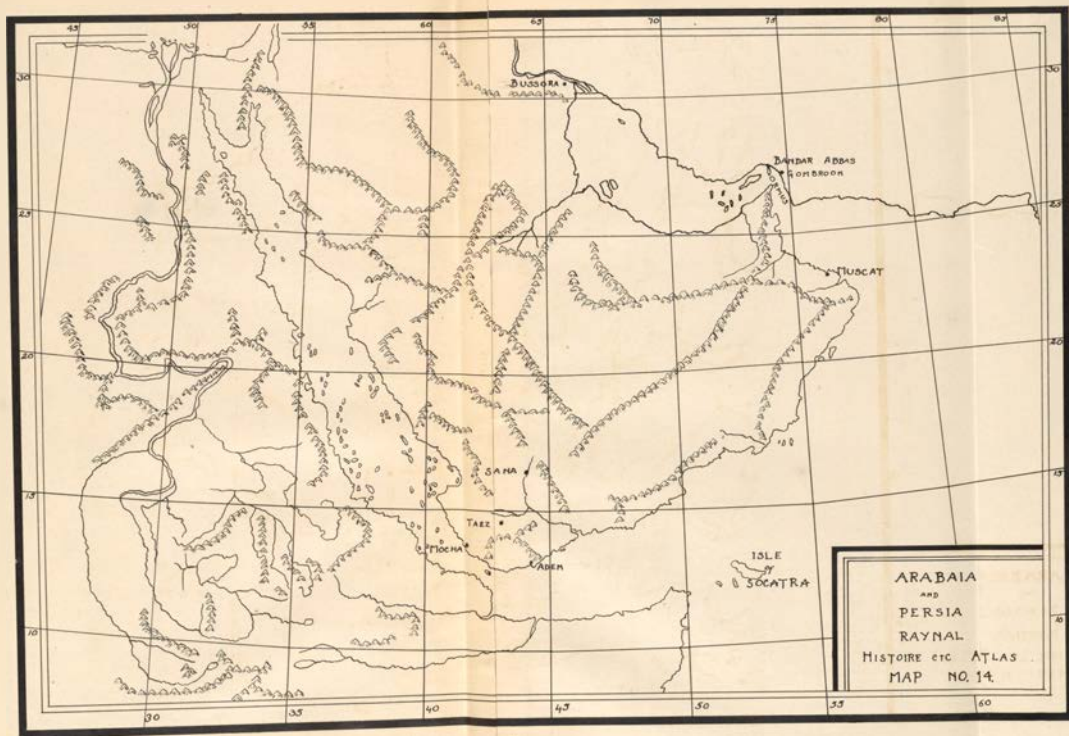
# NORTHERN INDIA

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HISTOIRE etc. ATLAS  
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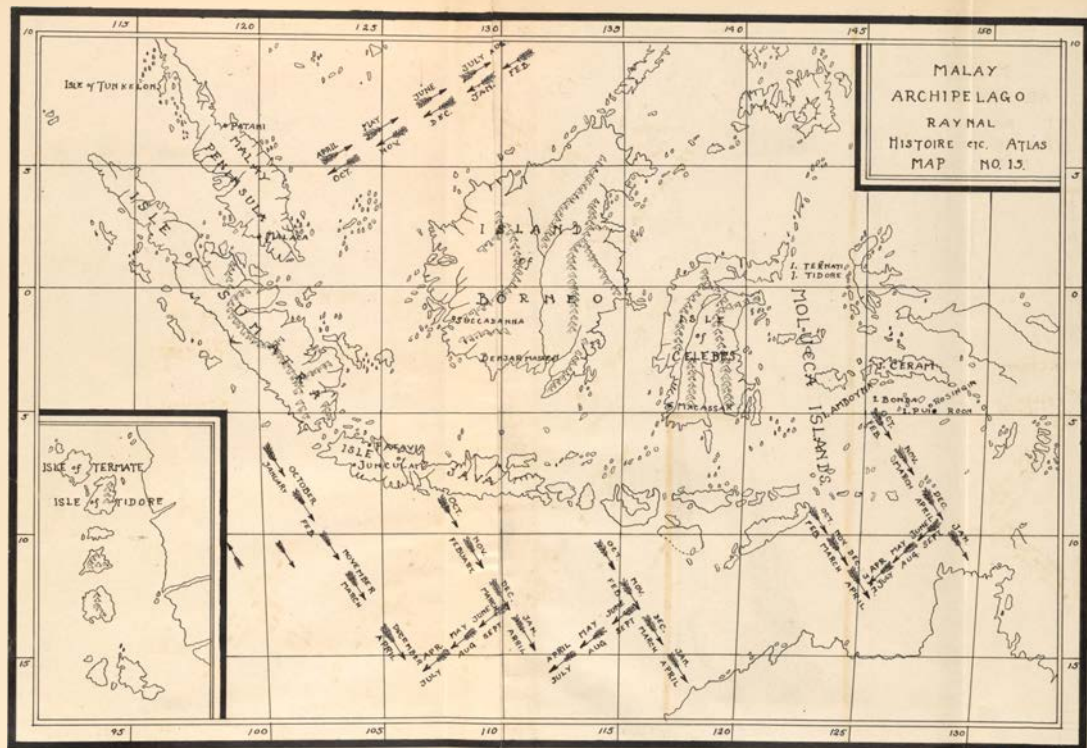








MALAY  
ARCHIPELAGO  
RAYNAL  
HISTOIRE etc. ATLAS  
MAP NO. 13.





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## VITA

The writer was born May 13, 1899, in Naini Tal, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Kamoun District, India. He received his grammar and early high school education in Philander Smith College, Naini Tal. In the year 1913, he successfully passed a government examination requirement, prerequisite to preparation for Senior Cambridge work, in the second division, with honors in History, English, Geometry, and Geography. His high school work was completed in Evanston High School, Illinois, and Quincy High School, Illinois. He graduated from the latter school, and entered the University of Illinois in September 1917. While at the University he has had courses in History under Professor L. M. Larson and Professor W. S. Robertson.